National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, EDITOR. Without Concealment---Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, COR. EDITORS.

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The Southern Press.

THE RETURN OF ONESIMUS.

LEST the reader should suppose this article to be intended as a broad burlesque of the argument in favour of Slavery drawn from Paul's Epistle to Philemon, it is proper to state that it is taken from a serious work written in defence of the Chattel system by the Rev. James Smylie, an eminent clergyman of the [Old School] Presbyterian Church, and a member of Amite Presbytery, Mississippi.

The epistle to Philemon was written by Paul, while a prisoner at Rome. As Philemon was converted under the ministry of Paul, and had a church in his house, it is probable that Philemon's slaves were acquainted with Paul. This acquaintance might have been the reason why Onesimus, the slave of Philemon, after he ran away from his master at Colosse, and now in Rome among strangers, called, as was natural, to see an old acquaintance. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, he was converted under the ministry of Paul, and, for some time after his conversion, served Paul. The Apostle, however, *sent him home*, with this letter, which we are considering, *to his master*, with an urgent request on the part of Paul, to Philemon, that he would not treat his slave harshly, but receive him in the two-fold capacity of a slave and a brother—both in the flesh and in the Lord.

This is the substance of the whole letter. That Onesimus was a slave—that Paul recognized him as the lawful property of his master, Philemon, I refer you to Scott, Clark, and McKnight—the two former thorough-going emancipators. In this epistle, we find Onesimus advertised as a runaway from his master's service. Paul advertises that he will pay Onesimus' debts, whether they were for goods stolen and wasted, before his conversion, or whether the debts accrued for the loss of time he was absent, or both. It is not stated how he became in debt, but Paul promises he will pay what Onesimus owed.

It is not stated, whether Philemon ever advertised a reward for apprehending Onesimus, but it is evident, from the letter, that Paul expected to be rewarded with the gratitude of Philemon, for *sending back* to him *his slave*; especially as he had reason, from what he had learned from Paul's letter, to believe that his slave would now be more profitable to him than he was before his conversion.

Here, then, we have an Apostle, "with a view of restoring him to his master," sending back a runaway slave. Here we have, in Philemon, an eminent Christian, holding his fellow-beings in Slavery.—Here, also, we have Onesimus, verily, now bearing the image of Jesus, sent home as a slave, by Paul, the aged.

The advertising and apprehending a runaway slave, against whom *no crime* is alleged, is not the full extent of Paul's iniquity. But he, professing to have the mind of the Spirit, is guilty of the most unpardonable omission. He knew that Philemon lived at Colosse, and that he would, of course, see the letter he wrote to the Colossians, at the same time that he wrote to him a private letter. In the letter to the Colossians, he directs masters to "give unto their servants that which is *just and equal*," without mentioning whether it was intended by "just and equal," that their masters were to emancipate them. Philemon would look at the private letter he sent to himself, to learn from it his duty, as now he had, in the person of Onesimus, a slave, whom Paul owns as a "brother beloved." And there, instead of emancipation being required, he finds Paul comforting him with the hope, that Onesimus would quit his old tricks, and never run away again, "for," says Paul, "perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him *forever*." If he had not run away, and, in the providence of God, been converted, he, perhaps, would have been of no service to you, but now, being converted, he will never run away from you again, but serve you "*forever*," "not with eye service," as formerly, "but, in singleness of heart, fearing God." You will find now, that whatever service you require of him, he will "do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men." So that now, "you receive him" back, purged by the Holy Ghost of the Abolition principles he had adopted, which caused him to run away, and which caused him, even when he staid at home, to do his work reluctantly and in a *slavish* manner, "with eye service." But now he is under the influence of holy principles, so that you may now receive him, "not as a slave, but as a brother beloved, especially to me," who have for some time enjoyed his services. Although I have not the additional circumstance of his being my property, to increase my attachment to him, yet I do love him as a brother. If then his Christian principles, and the short service he has rendered to me, make him stand so high in my estimation, "in the Lord," how *much more would I esteem him, if he was "mine in the flesh."* That is, *if he was my property, and constituted part of my household, as he does yours.*

KIDNAPPING OF FREE NEGROES.

THE Shawneetown *Advocate* and the Bellville *Republican* come to us with some statements relative to the conduct of certain of the citizens of this State, which we deem it our duty to call the attention of the parties and the public to, that the matter may be sifted, the truth made known, and justice done. The people of southern Illinois have been faithful in the execution of the late act of Congress for the extradition of fugitive slaves. They detest Free Soilism in its spirit and in its principles. Unlike the little band of Abolitionists in and around Chicago, they are observers of the Constitution in its truest sense. Since the passage of the act of Congress a number of fugitive slaves from the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, have been reclaimed in that section of the State, and the parties claiming them have had the prompt assistance of a large majority of the citizens, and have met with no resistance, or an opposition so trifling as to be of no consequence. We think with the *Advocate*, that they have a right to be dealt with justly and fairly, and that all attempts to seize and carry away negroes really entitled to their freedom deserves the most serious reprehension. The parties who do it not only violate law and morals; they do much to destroy all disposition in the people of that State to aid in the recovery of fugitive slaves, and thereby inflict a serious injury upon the owners of slave property in Missouri.

The Shawneetown *Advocate*, among other matters, states that a Mrs. PRATHER removed from North Carolina with a family of negro slaves, for the express purpose of setting them free—that after residing there some time she had made and committed to record a deed of manumission, and entered into bond for their good behaviour—that fifteen years afterwards she resided there, during which time no claim was set up to the negroes——that her husband had given these slaves to her absolutely by will—that in the fall of 1844 a man named TERRELL, with forged letters of administration, seized most of these negroes—that a trial was had before Justices, wherein the ground was taken that Mrs. PRATHER was insane when the deed was made—that she was conclusively proved to have been sane, and the negroes were discharged—that in 1846 TERRELL, with one NEWTON E. WRIGHT, again seized and attempted to carry them away, but were prevented by the interference of citizens—that another trial was then had, and a written obligation entered into by the parties to abide the result—that the trial was before Judge POPE, and the counsel for the claimants were A. P. FIELD and WILLIS L. WILLIAMS, of this city—that they were again discharged—that NEWTON E. WRIGHT soon afterwards seized one of them at Illinoistown, brought her to St. Louis, and took her before Mr. KRETSCHMAR, a justice, by whom she was pronounced a fugitive, and has been sold into Slavery, near Memphis, Tennessee. We condense the statement as given by the *Advocate*, and of course know nothing of its accuracy. If correct, we hope legal steps will be taken to rectify the evil.

The case stated by the Bellville *Republican* implicates citizens of Ste. Genevieve, who, we believe, are of respectable parentage, and standing. Whether the facts are correctly given by that paper, we know not, but we believe it was the intention of the editor to state the case fairly. We would copy the article entire, that those concerned may know what defence to make, but the case is to undergo a judicial investigation. For this reason we shall forbear all comment, lest we may do injustice to one side or the other in the controversy. We trust, however, that the evidence may prove the innocence of the parties implicated. They have been indicted in Illinois, and a requisition is about to be made upon the Governor of this State for a surrender of them for trial. We shall forbear any interference in the matter until the affair is legally concluded. In conclusion, we will say to our fellow-citizens of southern Illinois, that the people of this State are a just and law-abiding people, tenacious of their own rights, and scrupulously observant of those of others. As among themselves, there are some individuals disposed to treat law and morals with contempt to subserve selfish ends, so there may be individuals of like character in this State. This the mass of the people cannot help. The utmost they can do (and that they will assuredly do) is to abide the law themselves, and through their constituted authorities endeavour to make others abide it also. At a time like this, when questions of Slavery, which threaten the peace and unity of the Union, are constantly agitated, it is of the utmost consequence that the citizens of neighbouring States who are true to the Constitution and the law should act with firmness and in good faith.—*St. Louis Times.*

GEORGIA MECHANICS' CONVENTION.

AGREEABLY to previous notice, between four and five hundred of the Mechanics of Georgia met in council at Atlanta, on the 4th of July, and organised, temporarily, by calling Wm. H. Pritchard, of Richmond county, to the Chair.

The President having taken his position, in a neat address explained the object of the Convention to be the advancement of the Mechanic Arts and the elevation of the Mechanics of Georgia—and returned his thanks for the honour conferred upon him, expressing his earnest wish that the motto of the great seal of the Commonwealth—"Wisdom, Justice and Moderation"—would govern the meeting in its deliberations, and invoking a spirit of concord among the members thereof.

On motion, Charles S. Oliver, of Clarke, and L. Lawshee, of DeKalb, were appointed Secretaries of the Convention.

A committee, appointed to select permanent officers for the Convention, reported the following names:

Wm. H. Pritchard, of Richmond, President; J. A. Beals, of Chatham county, J. W. Moore, of Morgan, C. P. Levy, of Bibb, J. B. Lester, of Dooly, J. B. Hudson, of Cherokee, W. H. Howe, of Alabama, as Vice Presidents.

On Motion, a Committee of Seven were appointed by the President to prepare and report matter for the consideration and action of this Convention. The Committee consisted of

L. F. W. Andrews, of Bibb county;
J. D. Lester, of Dooly;
C. S. Oliver, of Clarke;
C. P. Levy, of Macon city;
W. D. Thomas, of Putnam county;
S. M. Goodman, of Cobb;
J. A. Beals, of Chatham;

To whom, on motion, the President, W. H. Pritchard, of Richmond, was added, with instruction to report at 2 o'clock, P. M., to which time the Convention would soon adjourn.

[In the interval, the Address of the Orator of the day was delivered before the Convention, and several thousand people assembled at Walton's Spring, in the suburbs of Atlanta—after which and the other exercises, the fine Barbecue was served up to the immense multitude present.]

TWO O'CLOCK, P. M.

Convention met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare and report matter for the consideration of the Convention, reported the following Preamble and Resolutions, which, on motions, were received:

Preamble:

WHEREAS, the development of the Mechanic Arts in Georgia, and the advancement of the Mechanical and Manufactural pursuits of the Commonwealth, are no longer matters of questionable importance, as elements of permanent State prosperity, but an admitted necessity; and whereas, it is due to our fellow-citizens that the reasons for the meeting of this Convention, and for its action, should be unreservedly laid before the public, the following considerations are submitted, as embodying the views of its members generally, on the several subjects of interest embraced in this Preamble:

State Mechanical Institute.

The necessity for the formation of such an institution must be apparent to the mind of every reflecting man. The stimulus to inventive genius, as well as to the finished production of many articles well known to the arts—the fostering of that commendable enthusiasm, without which few attain pre-eminence or competency in new fields of mechanical enterprise—would be greatly promoted by the establishment of a State Mechanical Institute in Georgia. In aid of the Central Association, and acknowledging it as the head, auxiliary societies should be established in the various counties and cities of the State, thus by a general system of co-operation, the great interests of the mechanical trades would be promoted—additional inducements offered for Southern youth to engage in mechanical pursuits, and new and important enterprises brought forward and successfully consummated. The establishment of such an institution is a leading object of this Convention.

Georgia School Books.

The State of Georgia contributes, annually, thousands of dollars for the support of Free Schools, but no encouragement has been extended to authors and publishers in this State, to supply those Schools with books. If the Legislature were to prescribe the books to be used in those Schools which are sustained by its bounty, and order that the same should be published in Georgia, public opinion as well as public necessity would soon create a large demand for Georgia School Books. We have Printers, Type Founders, Book Binders, and Paper Manufacturers, and can have Steam Printing Presses, and yet we are dependent on other sections for even our Elementary Instruction books, not because other sections can furnish them better or cheaper, but because there has been no public effort, by the authorities of the State, to cultivate an opinion favourable to such an enterprise. We contribute thousands of dollars to the publishing establishments at the North and East, giving employment to the capital and industry of those sections, to the serious detriment of the vital interests of the South, and at the imminent hazard of demoralising the minds of the rising generation, in reference to Southern Institutions and Southern political economy.

Mechanical Employment in the Penitentiary.

That instructing convicts in the Penitentiary, in the various mechanical trades, has thus far resulted in pecuniary loss to the State, is a fact, which the appropriate records of the Legislature will abundantly establish. It could hardly have been otherwise. Sufficient proficiency in mechanical trades, to be available for profit and usefulness, can seldom be attained in less than five or six years, with every advantage of inclination to learn, good mind to comprehend, good instruction to impart, and with a laudable ambition to excel. Can we expect any such disposition or proficiency from obtuse and reluctant convicts? Are not material destroyed, bad work executed, and good work damaged, by such operatives? It would be unreasonable to expect otherwise from convicts. It would be unsafe to make different calculations from the operations of unpaid and reluctant operatives in the mechanic arts any where.

But this evil does not stop at this point. There are consequences paramount to mere pecuniary loss to the State. Mechanical employments are degraded, when the Commonwealth adopts them as a *punishment* for the counterfeiter, thieves and other malefactors. Justice to the pursuits of worthy citizens of the State, and sound policy in regard to our finances, indicate the propriety, if not the necessity, of abolishing mechanical employments in the Penitentiary. It may, indeed, be a question whether the present policy in the management of the Penitentiary does not indirectly offer a premium for villainy and open an almshouse for rogues. Feeding and clothing convicts, and teaching them a trade, thus placing them on a professional level with the worthy mechanics of the States, *may be punishment for crime*, in the eyes of the law, but it also inflicts insult and degradation upon the law-abiding mechanics of the State. Other fields of employment to convict labor are open. The common roads, unnavigable water courses, plank and railroads, the unpaved condition of the streets in our towns and cities, delving into the iron and coal mines, and marble quarries of our mountains, and other means of employment, requiring more physical labour and endurance, are open for convict labour.

It may be asked, why has our section been so dependent on the manufacturing capital and labour of other States. The answer is obvious. If Georgia mechanics were relieved from the odium which crushes their pursuits, from this and other causes, they would defy competion from any quarter, and their productions would command the encouragement and approbation of the country. The intelligent and educated sons of worthy citizens shun our pursuits—not in consequence of the toils which they would incur, but because of the odium with which they would be associated.

In endeavouring to enlarge the area of usefulness and renown, for the mechanic arts in Georgia, every detriment to their honourable estimation, dignity and repute of those avocations, should be speedily removed by public opinion. Employments which have been dishonoured by operation of law, and which require mind and ability to perform, and capital and industry to sustain, are necessarily doomed to slow progress and unrewarding profits, and invite only a limited portion of the community to their ranks. If the prevailing policy in Georgia, as is believed, has a tendency to degrade mechanical pursuits, how can we hope for their advancement while such a system continues in operation?

Remove these trammels, and the Mechanic Arts, which have heretofore languished in Georgia, will revive and flourish. Already has a "change come over the spirit of our dreams," in this regard. Manufacturers now employ a considerable portion of the capital of the State, and the diversified pursuits of the Mechanic Arts are arousing the people to high efforts. If all impediments were removed, a career of unbounded prosperity and renown would open upon us, leading us to hope that while we now have the proud name of being the "Empire State of the South," the future, under more auspicious advantages, may render us worthier of a still prouder name in the Confederacy of the Republic.

Negro Mechanics.

The policy of Instructing Negroes in Mechanic pursuits is of a very questionable nature. The history of the past proves that nearly all the escapes of slaves from Georgia and several other Southern States, to Free Soil territory, are traceable to the pernicious influence exercised by these persons. It is our firm conviction, that a few Negro Mechanics in towns and cities have done and can do more practical injury to the institution of Slavery and its permanent security than all the ultra abolitionists of the country. Mechanical pursuits elevate the negro's mind and quicken his intellect, leading to a desire to read and write, the gratification of which is often obtained in a clandestine manner, by which he is furnished with facilities for making money, and led into depravity and dissipation, thereby making him restless and unhappy, and an unsafe associate for the dutiful and contented negroes of the State, of a lower grade of condition. Is it not then the dictate of wisdom and prudence, looking merely to the *security* of our institutions, to take such steps as will guard and protect us from such influences, for all time to come?

Mechanical pursuits, moreover, to be fully worthy of Georgia's sons, and rendered capable of competition with other sections, must be honourably associated. Educated young men of the South can seldom be found who will engage in pursuits which lead them into professional competition with persons of inferior morals and minds.

As Mechanics and Southern men, by birth or by adoption; and as slaveholders, we appeal to every class of our fellow-citizens for a just appreciation of our motives, and for encouragement in the work we design to accomplish. That design is to raise and exalt our position as men and as citizens, morally, socially and intellectually. Let that be achieved, and a desire will, it is believed, soon be evinced by our youth to enter at once the workshops of the State, and thus contribute to make it great and independent. We ask only for such encouragement as will raise our calling in the scale of respectability and usefulness, as well as secure, on a permanent basis, the peculiar institution of the South, and promote the general welfare of the people.

To give suitable form and expression to these opinions, as freeman have the right to do, be it therefore,

Resolved, 1. That a State Mechanical Institute be formed in Georgia, for the purpose of advancing the Mechanic Arts, by the annual exhibition of mechanical products and every other means of such associations, and that an Executive Committee of 13 be appointed to draft a Constitution and By-laws for the government of such an Institute, to be presented for ratification to this body, at an adjourned meeting, at some convenient place and time, subject to the call of the Chairman of that Committee.

Resolved, 2. That the Convention recommend to the mechanics of the several counties and localities of the State to form Mechanical associations, auxiliary to the State Mechanical Institute.

Resolved, 3. That we look upon the system of convict labour in our Penitentiary, whereby thieves and vagabonds are converted into mechanics, and sent out to compete with the honest labour of the mechanic classes, as degrading to the character of the latter, and productive of much injury to the whole State, and should, in justice to a respectable portion of citizens, be immediately reformed or modified, consistently with the principles of justice and equality.

Resolved, 4. That a committee of three be appointed to draw up a suitable memorial on this subject, and have the same printed and sent to each member of this Convention, for the purpose of obtaining signatures — then to be returned to the Committee in time to be presented to the next Legislature.

Resolved, 5. That the present system of Apprenticeship, now in vogue in this State, is defective in its character, and ill calculated to perfect youth in a knowledge of Mechanic Arts, and that we recommend to our fellow Mechanics to set their faces like flint against the practice of encouraging runaway apprentices or giving employment to any such, without the consent of the original employers, parents or guardians.

Resolved, 6. That in the opinion of this body the instruction of negroes in the Mechanic Arts is a source of great dissatisfaction to the mechanical interest, prejudicial to Southern youths engaging in industrial pursuits, and is believed to be inexpedient, unwise, and injurious to all classes of the community.

The report and resolutions were then taken up separately, and on motion to adopt the preamble as read, W. U. Anderson, of Coweta, moved to strike out all that portion which referred to the subject of Negro Mechanics, which after full discussion was rejected by an overwhelming vote. The preamble was then adopted as it stands.

1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th were then severally read and adopted unanimously.

On a call of the 6th resolution, W. U. Anderson, of Coweta, moved, that it be laid on the table, which after discussion was lost. The 6th resolution was then put and carried.

Resolved, That this Convention individually and collectively do hereby express their firm and abiding devotion to the peculiar institution of the South *as it is*, and their utter and unqualified detestation of those Northern Abolitionists and Fanatics, who are constantly interfering with our interests and property.

Carried unanimously and with great enthusiasm.

Committee to prepare memorial—J. Reynolds, of Clarke, E. J. Jones, of Chatham, and W. U. Anderson, of Coweta.

On motion, of E. J. Jones, of Chatham,

Resolved, That a system of education for Apprentices be established and fostered by the State Institute, for the instruction in the theory of their several branches — and that a respectful but *warm* appeal be made to the Legislature that a special fund be appropriated yearly for educating the young mechanics of Georgia.—*Georgia Citizen.*

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE *Greenville Patriot* (says the Washington *Union*,) publishes an interesting report of the proceedings of which it terms an "anti-secession celebration of the Fourth of July," at Greenville, South Carolina. Four thousand persons are said to have been present. The *Patriot* says:

"The ball is in motion, and will roll on till it passes through the length and breadth of the State. Spartanburg will give it a thousand licks on saleday in August. York and Chester will follow suit. The death-knell of secession has been rung. The people of South Carolina have recovered from the panic which passed over them last winter. In less than two years secession will be laughed at in this State."

The following passages from the report read and adopted on the occasion exhibit its temper and spirit:

"Under these circumstances, and with a full knowledge that no other Southern State will coöperate with her, it is proposed by the secessionists of South Carolina that this State shall not only separate herself from the federal Union, but from all the other slaveholding States! This proposition comes, too, at a time when we have reasons to believe that a better and more just feeling is springing up at the North in favor of the South. The fugitive slave law has been enforced by public opinion and the federal authorities in the cities of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The people of the Northern States have assembled by thousands and tens of thousands, and declared their purpose to stand by the constitution and defend the rights of the South. These sentiments have been warmly advocated by the distinguished men and the distinguished statesmen of the North. Webster, of Massachusetts; Dickinson, of New York; Cass, of Michigan; Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Douglass, of Illinois, have all, in words of burning eloquence and patriotism, expressed those feelings.

"But neither the going off of the South nor the coming to of the North will stay the uplifted hand of secession in South Carolina! A State convention has been called, and members elected at a most unseasonable time, in order to prevent discussion and division before the people! A majority of the members, elected by less than one-fourth of the voters of South Carolina, are pledged to separate State secession. It is believed, however, that a majority of the people of this State are opposed to separate secession, and a majority of her leading men have so expressed themselves. There is danger, then, of South Carolina going out of the Union at the bidding of one-fourth of her population, and against the advice and counsel of her Cheves and Barnwell, and her Butler, and all his former associates amongst the judiciary of the State.

"It behooves the people, then, to look to this matter, and see if there be no means of defeating it and saving the State. That secession will involve South Carolina in bloody civil wars and ruinous taxation, weaken and ultimately destroy the institution of Slavery, and end in the degradation of the State, your committee have not the slightest shadow of a doubt. That it is any remedy at all for the evils of which the secessionists complain is, to the minds of your committee, preposterous and absurd. It will not restore California, or open any wider the admission of Slavery into Utah and New Mexico. It cannot increase the area of Slavery, or prevent legislation on the part of Congress in relation to Slavery.

"But secession will, if successful, most effectually circumscribe the area of Slavery, and utterly ruin it in South Carolina. As soon as the State goes out of the Union, every slave in it, and all their descendants, in all time to come, will be fixtures to our soil! If one should chance to be carried over the Savannah river, his owner will forfeit, under the laws of the United States, ten thousand dollars, and incur seven years imprisonment, and stand committed until the fine is paid. White persons may leave the State, but slaves cannot. Their labor must be valueless, but here they must remain. In the course of time their owners will run off and leave them, and South Carolina may become a *black State*, a second St. Domingo, by the wisdom of secession.

"There are thousands of gallant men in our little State who would doubtless be willing to sacrifice themselves; and this, perhaps, they have a right to do. But they have no right to involve others—their wives and children, their friends and families—in a *melee* so terrible and destructive.

"It is said in the language of despair, that we are ruined and disgraced if we do not secede. How differently think the people of Georgia, Alabama, Virginia and North Carolina! Can we be disgraced in such company? Are the other fourteen slaveholding States disgraced? Surely not. And why is South Carolina? This is not the feeling of the South, out of this State. There is no apprehension on this subject elsewhere. We need not be alarmed before the danger occurs. Perchance it may never occur. Should it come, we will meet it like brave men, and, *united*, we will fight it like prudent men. But neither the madness of secession nor the wickedness of abolitionism shall divide and separate us from our friends. We stand by our rights, and we stand with the South."

The Resolutions adopted by the large meeting are as follows:

Resolved, That we look upon the institution of African Slavery as existing in the Southern States as a blessing to the slave himself, having elevated him from the condition of a savage, without religion, and without the comforts of life, to that of a civilised being, having access to the Christian religion, and provided for by the superior wisdom and prudence of a Christian master.

Resolved, That we will defend this peculiar institution as one of the greatest blessings of our country, and one of the dearest rights secured to us by the federal constitution, at any and all hazards, and to the last extremity.

Resolved, That we look upon separate State secession as calculated to weaken and destroy the institution of Slavery as it now exists in South Carolina, and we believe that it will involve the country in civil war and ruinous taxation, and result in dishonour and disgrace to the State.

Resolved, That we will oppose, as we love the honour and prosperity of South Carolina, the adoption of a measure which must entail such unmitigated misfortunes on our State, without the possibility of being a remedy for the evils apprehended; and for the protection of our rights we look to the aid and coöperation of the other slaveholding States.

Resolved, That we recommend to our anti-secession friends throughout the State to meet in every district, parish, and neighbourhood in South Carolina and express opposition to the folly and madness of separate secession, and to instruct their members of the convention, in writing, with the name of every voter appended, to oppose the same with all their strength and influence.

Resolved, That we do hereby instruct our senators and representatives in the legislature to vote against the call of the State convention, and do all in their power to defeat the assembling of a body so revolutionary in its purposes, and so unfairly elected by a small minority of the people of South Carolina.

Resolved, That, should the said convention assemble, we do hereby instruct our members to vote against secession, and to exert their influence to prevent a calamity so direful in its consequences to the abolitionists of the North.

Resolved, That, should the said convention determine to secede, we are satisfied the act of secession must be submitted to the people of South Carolina for ratification or rejection; and that unless this be done it will be treated as a nullity by a large majority of the people of the State.

Resolved, That we further instruct our delegates to the State convention, in case it should assemble, to procure an alteration in the basis of representation in this State, so that the people of South Carolina, may be equally and fairly represented in the different sections of the State.

Resolved, That they be further instructed to alter the constitution of this State, so as to give the election of governor to the people, and make it the duty of the legislature to provide for the election of electors of President and Vice President of the United States in South Carolina by the people.

Resolved, That we deem it advisable to hold an Anti-secession convention in Columbia on the first Monday in December next, and recommend to our anti-secession friends throughout the State to send delegates to the said convention.

From among the many letters read on the occasion we select the following:

Letter from J. R. Poinsett, Esq.

GENTLEMEN: Your invitation to address you, either personally or by letter, on the important subject of State secession, at the celebration of the ensuing anniversary of our national independence, reached me only yesterday, and although the time is short, I hasten to comply with your request.

My views and opinions on this subject have already been submitted to my fellow-citizens, and I might content myself with referring to my published letters, were it not that the deep interest I take in this question, and the earnest solicitude I feel to preserve my native State from pursuing a course which involves its ruin, impel me to urge such further reasons as suggest themselves to my mind against this measure of unmitigated evil.

Attempts are made to liken the mad scheme of separate State secession to the great and glorious event you have assembled to celebrate. But who that has listened to the Declaration of Independence promulgated by the unanimous voice of an entire and united nation, and to the recital of the wrongs inflicted upon the American people by Great Britain, will draw a comparison between that revolution and the one proposed by South Carolina—I should say, by certain revolutionary leaders in South Carolina—where a single State, in opposition to the wishes and opinions of those in its immediate neighbourhood, having similar interests to protect and similar wrongs to complain of, seeks to dissolve the government, and to declare itself independent? In the first case, a great and prosperous nation has arisen, commanding the respect of the civilized world; in the last, an insignificant State would be formed, unable to support or defend itself, and regarded by the rest of the world as an outcast from the mighty American republic of which it now forms a conspicuous part.—I am aware that this is not popular language to hold to a people who are in the habit of hearing themselves lauded as being clothed with power to maintain this single State against the world in arms, and possessing resources adequate to defray all the expenses of an independent government. This, fellow-citizens, is a dream from which you must be aroused by having the truth laid bare to you. It is a delusion shared equally by leaders and people; for I do not doubt the sincerity of those who declaim so eloquently about the greatness we should achieve by separate State action, and the proud attitude we should assume as an independent nation. I have read attentively all the speeches published lately to convince the people within our borders of the necessity of immediate State action, appealing to their patriotism and their high sense of honour to induce them to take this hazardous step, and either setting forth, in glowing colours, the vast advantages to accrue from it, or admitting the danger, but striving to convince them that a case has arisen where the honour of the State requires that they should embrace ruin rather than submit to wrong. In all these publications, I have failed to see any attempt to prove that we, in South Carolina, suffer greater wrong than our sister slaveholding States, or any reason adduced why we, arrogating to ourselves a nicer sense of and a greater share of magnanimity, should place ourselves in the van, and lead a forlorn hope which will be followed by no advancing column to support it. We are told that our position, if we take the lead, will excite the sympathies and command the aid of all the southern States. What sympathy or aid can we expect from States whose counsel we shall have scorned, whose character for courage we outrage, and whose interests we sacrifice? What sympathy can we claim from the rest of the civilised world, whose hopes of freedom were centred in the success of the experiment of self-government, and who will regard our conduct with reprobation as well as dismay? Be assured, fellow-citizens, that the only sympathy and aid South Carolina, after such an act as is recommended by thoughtless and violent men, can expect to receive, is from those persons who are cast loose from society—men who are ready to violate the laws of their country, and seek to better their own condition by urging others to deeds of violence. By such men our independent State would be overrun, and South Carolina might be compelled to seek succour from those she now regards as her enemies, against the exactions of those she once received, with open arms, as friends and allies.

I have called this proposition for South Carolina to secede from the Union a measure of unmitigated evil because, while the dangers and evils are so apparent, the advantages cannot be perceived by any discerning eye. Wherever an attempt is made to discover and set them forth, the fallacy is so manifest that the allusion vanishes before the light of truth; and those who impel the people to this act of folly adopt a grandiloquent style, and talk of honour and magnanimity and quote passages from Mr. Calhoun's and Mr. McDuffie's speeches, as if they were applicable to the circumstances of the present day. Were those great statesmen now alive, they would be among the first to stem this torrent, and would seek to avert the danger it threatens. Their former sayings, under different circumstances altogether, are now brought up and quoted to inflame the minds of the people, and to justify the conduct of certain leaders. How long will the people of this State continue to be deceived by this abuse of great authorities? How long will they suffer themselves to be so misled? How long will they abandon themselves to the dictation of incompetent leaders? When will they rouse themselves, and exhibit a manly self-reliance by taking their own fate into their own hands, by meeting in primary assemblies, and, speaking in the name of the people, repudiating the clubs and conventions which threaten our noble State with ruin?

May this auspicious day be the bright dawn of returning sense and recovering freedom; and from henceforth may the people of South Carolina govern themselves, and frown down all attempts, whether proceeding from ignorance or design, to lead them off from their natural friends and allies into the lonely and wide waste of secession, civil war, and causeless revolution!

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your obliged and devoted fellow-citizen, J. R. POINSETT.

To Messrs. R. B. Duncan, Vardy McBee, B. Dunham, and other members of the committee, Greenville, South Carolina.

Selections.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

[*From an Address of* JAMES R. WILSON, D.D., *before a Mass Meeting at Cherokee, Ohio.*]

IT is with unfeigned diffidence that I address you on the topic which has been proposed for discussion—"*What is the duty of Christians in relation to the Fugitive Slave Law?*" 1. It is but three days since I was invited to speak to you on this law of Congress. My time has been much occupied. 2. The examination of the commonwealth is not in the line of my professional functions. I have never been sued in any court, and never have prosecuted any one in any civil action except once, many years ago. That case I lost. However, such thoughts as suggest themselves I shall utter.

In order to know what we ought to do, we should—1. Know the law.

1. It makes no discrimination between the black man and the white. If a slaveholder can find two men to swear, before a magistrate, South of Mason and Dixon's line, that a white man among us is his slave, and it is duly certified, the United States officer is bound to deliver him up. The law is imperative. It is difficult in the slave States, to distinguish between the Saxon race and the African race, in very many cases. They have there mulattoes, quadroons, octroons, sixteenths, &c. The law in all slave States, is, "partus sequitur ventrem," the child's lot is the same as the mother's. If the mother is a slave, although she has fifteen parts Saxon blood, and one only Ethiopian, her son or daughter is doomed to perpetual bondage. Thousands of slaves are not so dark-skinned as many of our free Anglo-Saxons. Every brunette, with black hair, black eyes, and white teeth, by this law is made a slave, provided two loafers can be bribed to swear that she is the property of General Foote. Yea, more: auburn hair, the softest ringlets, and blue eyes, cannot save her, if a *virtuous* slaveholder, of easy conscience, fancies her for a chattel!

2. The commissioner, who decides on the claim, is appointed by a judge of the United States Court. This is contrary to the usage and the law of the United States government. The heads of departments, the United States judges, the postmasters, and other functionaries of the general government, are nominated by the President, and in the more important offices approved by the Senate. The same usage obtains in the State governments. In this case there is no check; a brother or a sister is doomed to Slavery, in its most oppressive form, by an irresponsible officer, not elected by the people, but by *one* man.

3. There is no jury trial. This safeguard of liberty, and even of property in our day, exists in every realm where there is regard to the rights of freemen. It has grown out of the arbitration enjoined on Christians. 1 Cor. ii. 4—"If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the church."

4. The habeas corpus act is stricken down. This law phrase means, you may have the body. It is a relief in mercy to the accused. If any one is seized and imprisoned, the court may release him on bail till he is tried by his peers, or until the evidence of guilt, *sufficient to condemn*, on the trial in chief, is adduced to the grand jury. This law demolishes that rampart of our freedom, and leaves us at the mercy of one man, no matter how untrustworthy.

5. What is still worse, the commissioner is offered a bribe. If he deliver the person seized to the claimant, he receives as an office fee ten dollars; if he rescues him from the grasp of his captor, his reward is five dollars only. Were there ever, even in Spain, any provisions of her inquisitorial courts so base as this legislation of our American republican Congress? Never. What thoughts have Senators, Congressmen, and the President, of the honor or integrity of our free citizens on this side of Mason and Dixon's Line?

6. There is no rebutting testimony allowed. Even a heathen "town clerk" could say—"The law is open," (court days are kept,) "and there are deputies; let them implead one another." Acts xix. 33. This was the law practice at Ephesus under imperial Rome. But here, in our Christian State of Ohio, there is no *impleading*. The testimony of strangers—it may be from the lowest depths of pollution—is made final, contrary to the whole law of evidence in our books of jurisprudence. The man in handcuffs cannot be sworn, and can adduce no testimony, in a case, too, where all the dearest interests on earth are at stake. Alas!

7. There is no appeal. Solomon, speaking by the Spirit of Christ; says—"In the multitude of counsellors there is safety." Always before there was, in this republic, the right of appeal, in all cases, civil and criminal. The frame-work of this republic is essentially Presbyterian, securing the right of appeal. The townships are analagous to congregations, with their sessions, the county courts to presbyteries, the state courts to subordinate synods, and the national tribunals to general assemblies. The subject of appeals was vehemently argued in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The Episcopalians and the Congregationalists opposed this right. But the divine security prevailed against Episcopal despotism and Congregational oppression. Every attempt to impede the beneficent and free operation of this part of governmental machinery is of the essence of tyranny, whether in church or State. This fugitive slave bill cuts off its helpless victim from all hope of relief in the courts above.

8. All Christians, under pain of a heavy penalty, are commanded to aid in conveying the alleged fugitive into hopeless bondage. Congress, when they enacted this statute, could not but know that more than nineteen-twentieths of all people in the sixteen free States believe that negro Slavery is sin against God, and crime against civil society. This law assails one of the dearest rights of freemen.

II. This law, in its object, and in all its provisions, is directly contrary to the statutes of the Lord Jehovah—to all his enactments for securing the rights of man.

1. It is a daring attempt to annul an express statute of God's "*bill of rights*." Deut. xxiii. 15, 16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." This is a reiteration and exposition of the statute enacted forty years before. Ex. xxii. 25: "Ye shall neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him." The fugitive was "held to service" in Israel righteously. 1. The God of Israel, who can do no wrong, gave it his sanction. 2. The service was—(1.) voluntary, by the servant's own act, or that of his parents, as apprentices are now held; or, (2.) as a chastisement for crime, as boys in our houses of correction. The law, as all the Bible code does, leans to mercy. A servant held righteously to service scarcely ever runs away, if well treated. God's law presumes that the fugitive has a right to escape, because oppressed.

The slaves are held to service unrighteously. By a law of the United States, slave-trading is declared piracy. Any one who seizes an African, or sells him to a trader, or brings him to the United States, or sells him, or buys him, "is to be hanged by the neck *until he is dead*, as a pirate."—(Gordon's digest of the Laws of the United States.) The right of the present holder is not, cannot be, better than that of the pirate who made him a slave. Hence a fortiori, for an evidently stronger reason, it is against God's law to deliver up a runaway American slave.

It is sometimes said ignorantly, yes, often impiously, that Jehovah's law, given to Israel, is a sanguinary code. Let such blasphemers of the good law of the Lord compare His statute on the rights of those who escape from service with the fugitive law. He is blind who does not see the benevolent spirit of God's law, and the cruelty of the Fugitive Slave Law. The good Lord have mercy on our country. Amen.

2. It repudiates his "bill of rights" revealed by the light of nature, (1.) as it shines in the habeas corpus act. This was wrested by the growing spirit of liberty from European despots. They thrust men into prison on the most frivitous pretences, and there kept them without a trial. The court, on the application of friends, might let the prisoner out on bail.

The Fugitive Slave Law admits no application to any court. The decison of the most base, bribed commissioner is final. Apply this despotic statute to our wives, husbands, or children, we shall see, however obscure our moral vision, that it contravenes the habeas corpus light of nature. (2.) As nature's light appears in the trial by j

earth, meant to force the free and enlightened conscience of this republic to descend from her tribunal to do homage to the Moloch of Slavery. The persecuting edicts of Nero, of Louis XIV., of Charles I., of James VII., the trial and condemnation of our Presbyterian fathers by the infamous Bonner and Sharp in their church courts, and of Jeffries on his blood-stained bench, did not more openly make war on liberty of conscience, and on the God of conscience, than Fillmore's truckling Congress does in this act.

III. What is the duty of Christians in relation to this act?

1. Talk against its most unrighteous enactments. There is more done for human rights by talking than by all other means. It were well had we books on talking, as we have many on writing and oratory. Let mothers talk against this bad act to their children, fathers to wives and offspring, teachers to their pupils—even although this would be to talk against the constitution and laws of the United States—and neighbour to all his friends. Show that a death-blow is aimed at the vitality of freedom in the nation.

2. Let the whole North utter her indignant voice in popular assemblies. Let us be thankful it is doing so. Make Slavery quail in all her dens when she hears the thunder tones of the free.

3. Remonstrate with Congress—yes, remonstrate. Petition is too feeble a word. Demand of the government—demand, in the name of God, in the name of our holy Christian, Protestant religion, in the name of freedom to retrace its steps, and abolish this cruel and most unholy statute. I have hardly a shadow of hope that they will regard our remonstrance. Before they passed this act their conscience was seared as with a hot iron. But the nation will hear. Messiah, our Prince, will hear. He will come and proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, the year of jubilee.

4. Circulate and print tracts. We ought to have an Anti-Slavery Tract Society and colporteurs to sound withal the toosin, and awake just alarm in the man who yet slumbers.

5. Let the minister of Christ in the pulpit denounce this tyranny. It will be the voice of the Lord warning from "the top of Carmel, which now withers." Far too many ministers pander most basely to the impious behests of Slavery.

6. Let all, especially female disciples, pray for the poor fugitives, and for all their down-trodden brothers and sisters who are groaning under the cruel yoke of Slavery, in comparison of which Egyptian bondage was liberty. The effectual fervent prayer of one devout female disciple accomplishes more for the poor victim of tyranny than all our addresses, than all the press, than all the pulpit. "Ask, and ye shall receive."

> 'God also will a refuge be
> For those who are oppress'd,
> A refuge will he be in times
> Of trouble to distress'd.'—Psalm ix. 9.

7. Aid all fugitives. Feed them. Conceal them. Help them by money, and horses, and waggons, and prayer, to the free dominions of the Queen of England.

8. Refuse utterly obedience to this most iniquitous law, the old Serpent, the Devil, and Satan, and slaveholders, intend to persecute Let us set them at defiance, as Peter and John did the Jewish Sanhedrim. Say to the government as they did, "Shall we obey God rather than man? Judge ye." Jehovah will plead our cause while pleading for the perogatives of his law and throne. Amen.

ANOTHER SLAVE CASE.

HUMANITY has again been insulted, and justice mocked, by the restoration to chains of another victim of oppression. We had hoped that the summer would have been allowed to pass away without another case of this kind to harrow our feelings: but in this hope we have been disappointed. Indeed, it was hoping against hope. With kidnappers ever on the alert for their prey, with officials faithful to the letter and the malignant spirit of the slave law, like the Marshal's deputies, with courts such as those of Ingraham and Grier, with a community such as is around us, engrossed in politics and merchandise, and besotted by a false religion, it was too soon to expect immunity from the recurrence of such revolting scenes.

The time will come when this law will pass into a dead letter, but it is not yet. The moral sense of the community, benumbed by a high commercial prosperity, and the leprous influence of slaveholding politics and a slaveholding religion, has not been sufficiently reached to make the execution of this law a moral impossibility But the influences are in operation which are destined, as sure as cause precedes effect, to bring about this result. The men and women who are engaged in this cause, have put their hands to the plough and they will not look back. Discouraged by no obstacle, daunted by no opposition, they will neither slumber nor sleep till their work is accomplished.

The report of the case, which we give below, furnished for the daily papers by Mr. Webb, may be regarded as substantially correct. The trial was not marked by so crowded audiences as on former occasions of this kind, owing doubtless to the fact that it was not generally known, and that such of our citizens as have leisure to attend, are at this season of the year generally absent from town. There was nevertheless a very respectable attendance.

It will be seen that the friends of the slave made no effort, by counter testimony, to resist the claim of the master. Everything was done that could be done, but the case from the first was evidently hopeless. A writ of habeas corpus was taken out from Judge Grier, but when it was discovered that his purpose was merely to inquire into the legality of the arrest, and, if he should find the warrant all right, to hand the case back to Ingraham for adjudication, the writ, by the promptness of Mr. Brown, was withdrawn, and the case reverting to the Marshal, was brought by him, as originally, before the Commissioner. The claim of the master was clearly made out according to the bloody code of Slavery, recognised by our Federal Constitution, and honoured in all departments of our Government; the man was the property of the claimant, and that, of course, was the Commissioner's decision. There was no room for a doubt, and if there had been, neither Ingraham nor Grier were the men to give the prisoner the benefit of it They both seem to delight in exercising the behests of the Slave Law in the fullness of its spirit and letter,

This is the first case of the many that has come before him under his warrant, in which Ingraham has been permitted to touch the legal fee. He has been working for the Devil all along without his stipulated wages. In this case he gets of course his "ten pieces of silver." The creature, however, has not, like his better prototype, the moral sensibility to "repent himself" and "cast down the pieces of silver" and go and "hang himself." Judas was human.

It came out in the course of the testimony that the first information received by claimant of the whereabouts of his property, was, as the witness, Dr. Risteau said, "from a "*gentleman* of Lancaster of the name of George Bowman." Who is this George Bowman—this "*gentleman* of Lancaster"—who volunteers to give aid to the slave-catchers? What is his business? Is he a regular slave-catcher, or only an irregular one? or what? The public have an interest in such characters, and ought to know more about them. Will not some of our friends in Lancaster give us the needed information on this subject?

In the meantime, however, this unhappy man is delivered up, and is now, doubtless, in the slave prison at Baltimore. There he will be kept long enough to expiate in part his crime of loving liberty too well, and then he will be sold to the South, there on a cotton or rice plantation, to endure for the wretched remnant of his life the remainder of the penalty. This is our boasted republicanism and religion. This is the doom to which Pennsylvania—Quaker Pennsylvania—consigns innocent men and women who fly to her hill-sides and valleys for refuge. What a fact! What a comment!—*Pa. Freeman.*

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.

U. S. COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE, Tuesday, July 22.—(Before Commissioner Edward D. Ingraham).—Yesterday afternoon, a coloured man named Daniel Hawkins, apparently about twenty years of age, was brought from the Lancaster county jail, where he had been serving out a sentence of three months for larceny, in the custody of Constable John Agen, of Third Ward, Southwark, he is said to belong to Wm. M. Risteau, of Baltimore, Md., from whom it is alleged he absconded a year ago last June. Before his conviction for larceny he had been residing in Columbia, Pa. The master obtained information of his conviction, and on Saturday night last, in company with Constable Agen, who had a warrant for the arrest of the fugitive granted by Commissioner Ingraham, proceeded to Lancaster. The term of imprisonment of the alleged fugitive expired on Sunday night, at 12 o'clock. A few minutes before that hour, the master and Constable Agen went to the jail and paid the fine and costs of the court in the suit, and at 12 o'clock arrested the slave in the prison, and in the morning started for Philadelphia, where they arrived at about 3 o'clock yesterday afternoon. A committee of the Abolition Society were in waiting at the office of A. E. Roberts, U. S. Marshal, having probably obtained intelligence by telegraph from Lancaster, of the arrest. This committee is the most persevering set of men we have ever met with, and they never leave anything undone to secure the liberty of a fugitive slave. Before the hour of 4 o'clock arrived, which was fixed for a hearing, this committee had obtained a habeas corpus from Judge Grier, of the U. S. Circuit Court, to have the body of the alleged slave before him at 10 o'clock this morning. The Commissioner remarked that the habeas corpus did not act as a supersedeas, and that he was prepared to hear the case; but as the counsel had left the room with the impression that the case would not be heard until this morning, the case was postponed. The slave was kept in the Marshal's office all night.

At 10 o'clock this morning, the hearing of the habeas corpus was held before Judge Grier. D. P. Brown and R. P. Kane appeared for the alleged fugitive, and R. M. Lee and Bennett for the master.

R. M. Lee presented to the Court the returns of Marshal Roberts, stating the authority upon which he held the prisoner, and asked to be permitted to make out his case before the Commissioner, with a view of his being given into the custody of his master.

Judge Grier said that he had issued the habeas corpus merely for the purpose of ascertaining whether the warrant under which the fugitive was held, was legal in its character. It was not in the nature of a certiorari, to remove the proceedings from another body competent to give a hearing, nor would he allow himself to be made a committing magistrate at the whim and caprice of everybody.

D. P. Brown, for the prisoner, contended that the habeas corpus superseded the warrant of the Commissioner, but was willing, if the Judge thought otherwise, to withdraw the habeas corpus without argument, preferring to have a decision on a point so important, at some other time, when there should be more leisure for deliberation.

Mr. Lee thought it would be wrong to withdraw the case from the Commissioner, as it would be casting an imputation upon him. He asked, therefore, that the prisoner be remanded to the custody of the Marshal, with a view to his being heard before the Commissioner.

Mr. Brown replied, that to settle the matter he would withdraw the habeas corpus.

Judge Grier said, that the prisoner had never been taken out of the hands of the Commissioner, his purpose in granting the writ of habeas corpus being merely for the purpose of examining its validity. He then ordered the writ, remanding the prisoner to the custody of the Marshal, the habeas corpus having been withdrawn, and further proceedings waived under it.

Commissioner Ingraham then took his seat to hear the case.

Mr. Lee offered the proceedings had before Judge Heath, of Baltimore county, Md., which, after some conversation between counsel, was heard They set forth that the alleged fugitive is the slave for life of complainant, having been born of a female slave, owned by him in the county of Baltimore, Md., while she was his slave. Several affidavits were read of persons residing in the vicinity of the complainant, who testified to the fact that the prisoner is the slave of the claimant. The description of the person of the slave, contained in the affidavits, is very accurate. The slave has a peculiar appearance of face.

Dr. Thomas C. Risteau, sworn—The claimant is my brother; he lives on the Gunpowder Falls, about 11 miles from Baltimore; our farms are separated by the Falls; that is the boy of my brother; he is a slave for life; I have known him from infancy; he is in his 20th year; I knew his mother; he was born on my brother's farm; I have not the least doubt of his identity.

Cross-examined—I was born and raised on the farm where I now live; my brother has had the farm he lives on all his life; my father died in 1822; he died before the birth of this boy; I am younger than my brother; my brother purchased the mother of this boy in Patapsco neck of Thos. Long, at a public sale, as a slave for life; this was after the death of my father; the boy was not born at the time of the purchase of the mother; I am positive. I first saw him when an infant, from his birth up to the time he left my brother; I first missed him in June, 1850; the day he ran away; I had seen him almost every day, as he was hauling lime from my lime kiln; I first saw him after he ran away, about two or three weeks ago, in Lancaster county jail; I asked the boy how he got there, and he said he walked along the railroad; I was told in jail that he was committed for stealing chickens; he was committed on the 21st of April last; I saw the record; my brother and myself went to Lancaster, accompanied by Constable Agen, and arrested him when his time had expired; he was advertised a day or two after he ran away; my brother received information by telegraph of his being in jail.

[To the question, how did he receive the information? an objection was made, and an argument ensued between Messrs. Brown and Lee.]

Question admitted—My brother received information from a friend of his in Baltimore and also from a gentleman in Lancaster named George Bowman; I had no information in the interval; my brother received the verbal information before he received the telegraphic notice. I know of no marks upon the fugitive's person myself, but have heard my brother say, before the boy ran away, that he had a scar upon his cheek, I believe under his ear.

By Mr Lee—I attended the boy's mother in her confinement; the boy admitted while in jail that he was the slave of claimant.

Wm. Wollus, sworn—I know William M. Risteau; he lives in Baltimore county; I live within a mile of him, and was born there; I know the fugitive; he is the slave for life of Mr. Risteau; I have not the least shadow of doubt; I have worked days after days with him on the farm; have known him from a small boy; knew his mother; she was the slave of claimant; the boy was born on claimant's farm, and I knew him before he could walk; I saw him about ten days before he ran away, and never saw him again until yesterday in the room here; I was lime inspector of Baltimore county and saw the boy hauling lime; I have seen him helping his neighbours husk corn; I have always understood that the boy was a slave for life, by reputation and the word of the master; I know when he bought the boy's mother; Mr. Risteau parted with the mother about 12 years since; don't know whether the boy got here by the master's consent.

John W Shankland, sworn—I know Wm. M. Risteau, and am a neighbour of his; he lives in Baltimore county; I know the fugitive, and have known him from a small boy; his reputation in the neighbourhood was that he was a slave; can't say that I knew his mother; I have not the least doubt that he is the slave of Mr. Risteau.

Cross-examined—I have lived in Baltimore about 28 years; a short distance from claimant.

The evidence here closed.

Mr. Brown said, that they had no evidence to offer for the slave. He remarked, that if owners themselves would appear in court and make out their case in a regular manner, and by due proof, persons would find that there was no disposition on the part of the courts, such as was attributed to them, to resist the due execution of the law. In this case the respondent had no testimony to offer inconsistent with that adduced by the claimant. We are therefore satisfied *though by no means content*, to let the law take its course, though it is not to be wondered at that we were not going to allow human rights to be sacrificed to imaginary constructions of the law.

The claimant then made the necessary affidavit required by the Act of Congress, to put the fugitive into the hands of the United States Marshal, for the purpose of having him conveyed to Baltimore, Md. A warrant to remove the slave was made out by the Commissioner, and put into the possession of United States Marshal, A. E. Roberts, who started for Baltimore this afternoon, at 2 o'clock, with the slave in custody.

MAN HUNTING ON THE BORDER.

[Correspondence of The Pennsylvania Freeman.]

WILMINGTON, 7th mo. 8th, 1851.

THE readers of the *Freeman* will recollect seeing, a week or two since, some account of Elizabeth Williams having been taken from the Jail at West Chester, on the morning of the 28th of last month, and taken before a Magistrate or Commissioner, when no white person was present (except George McCrone who claimed that she owed service or labour to him, and his witnesses, to prove her identity. It appears she was taken home by George McCrone to his house, some six or seven miles from this place, where she remained till Second day night following, 7th mo. 1st, when one Arnold S. Naudain, who resides near Middletown in this State, accompanied by two other men, strangers, arrived at the house of George McCrone. That evening George McCrone sent an order by one William Smith, who resides at New Castle, to the Sheriff, Samuel Chandler, to deliver to him a coloured man named John Kinnard, whom he had purchased at the sale of a former sheriff for a term of years, and who had been confined in the jail at New Castle by said McCrone since 9th mo. last, as he alledged for disobedience. He was taken by Smith to McCrone's house, and when Smith returned to New Castle about an hour after, he reported to the Sheriff that he had left him at McCrone's. He there met with Naudain and two other men, strangers to him It appears that Naudain and the two men above spoken of, took John Kinnard and Elizabeth Williams that night to Elkton, as is generally believed, with the intention of taking them thence in the night line of cars to Baltimore for sale. They arrived at Elkton soon after the cars passed; they then took Kinnard and Williams to the house of Thomas McCreary for safe keeping till the cars should pass the following night, and secured them in the garret, About 10 o'clock next morning the cry of Murder! Murder! was heard from the house of McCreary. When the inhabitants rushed to ascertain the cause, they found Kinnard partly out of the window hallooing lustly; McCreary holding him by the shoulders to prevent him from jumping out, and Naudain assisting. They had handcuffs which they were endeavouring to put on him to secure him, as McCreary had to leave home that morning to cry a vendue. The Sheriff, by the advice of the citizens, put the two coloured people in jail for safe keeping, till there was time to make more inquiry respecting them. Naudain wished to get them out of jail during the day to take them home, he professed, as he told the Elkton folks he only took them there to frighten them; but the coloured people objected to go with them and the Sheriff refused to give them up. After being in jail several days, the woman consented to go back if McCrone would go after her and take her home, and he and Naudain went again on 7th inst. and the Sheriff gave her up, as she was willing to go with them. The man refused to go with either, and is still in jail. There can be no question but that according to the laws of Delaware they are both entitled to their freedom, and Naudain, and the two men who assisted him are liable to a heavy fine for taking them out of the State.—Sheriff Chandler informs me that McCrone says he sold them to Naudain, and had nothing to do with taking or sending them out of the State; others think it a partnership business between them; be that as it may, it is pretty evident that McCrone has manifested a particular fondness for that species of property, as I believe he has purchased several that have been convicted of petty crimes in our Courts, and sold for a term of years. While such laws exist, unprincipled men will be tempted to purchase coloured people, as they are generally sold for 7 years for the most trifling offence, sometimes as low as $10. They are mostly purchased by persons not very scrupulous about what becomes of the poor wretches afterward or what their neighbours think of them. There are those who make a business of attending these sales to make purchases of the bones and muscles of their fellow men, and after the purchase is made, in a few months, if not days, they are missed.—On inquiry for them, the answer is, Oh! they have run away. This business has been carried on for the last ten years to an alarming extent, and no doubt will continue to be, till the law is stricken from the statute books of the State. Whether any process will be taken to bring these offenders against law to justice, or to free Kinnard and Williams, I do not know, as there are but few in our State that are willing to spend either their time or money in the cause of those oppressed people; but many, who profess to be religious and humane, bestow censure quite freely on those who have felt it to be their duty to advocate the cause of the oppressed.

I have stated facts as given me by our Sheriff, and a friend, an eye-witness, at Elkton, and leave the public to make their own comments. Arnold S. Naudain has the character of a religious and respectable man, and I presume will hardly lose caste with his neighbours for this high handed act. I hope to be able in a few days to give the names of the two persons who were concerned with him in taking those two coloured persons out of the State. If George McCrone had made a bona fide sale of the persons named to Naudain, it appears he was afterwards willing to identify himself with the whole transaction by going with Naudain to assist in getting them back when he knew that, by law, Naudain had forfeited all claim to them by taking them out of the State, and the Sheriff of Elkton would not give them up without their consent to either Naudain or McCrone, as he knew they were entitled to their freedom.

THOMAS GARRET.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

*** *All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns should be addressed to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

†† *Donations to the Treasury of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *may be forwarded to* FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, at Boston; or to* SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, *New-York.*

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 31, 1851.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

TO-MORROW will pass away almost without notice in this country, and even in Great Britain, and yet it is, perhaps, the most glorious Anniversary that visits the world. The event which has made the First of August illustrious was, perhaps, the proudest triumph ever achieved by man, whether it be viewed in the light of its purposes, its instrumentalities, or its remoter issues. But the Eighteenth of June is, as yet, a more famous day in England, and the Fourth of July a more famous one in America—so imperfectly are events appreciated in their immediate neighbourhood, and so indistinctly are they discerned in the dubious light of the semi-barbarism which we christen Civilization. Even England hardly seems aware of the grandeur of the Revolution which was fought and won upon her soil by spiritual weapons only, of which that day saw the accomplishment, and America only shows her instinctive dread of it by the dastard lies which she loves rather than the truth. But it was a Revolution and one which stretches its influences far beyond the limits of the sea-girt isles where its instant trophies were set up. And the lesson which it teaches, and the example which it sets, mankind is even of more worth than the blessings which it caused and which it predicts.

The Emancipation of the West India Slaves was a Revolution, for it was a complete change in the political and moral relations of a whole race of men, and one which was to affect the condition of countless millions yet to be. But it was a Revolution not springing from the uprising of the oppressed class itself, unable any longer to endure its wrongs; but from the aroused conscience of the oppressing nation, which would permit it no longer to rest quietly under its guilt. It was a Revolution of Repentance, of Reparation, of the Restoration of Rights which Avarice and Cruelty had ravished, at the dictation of Justice and Humanity. The world never saw the like before. With all the drawbacks of Compensation and Apprenticeship (perhaps not unnatural stumblings in the first gropings in so new a course), it stands alone, a marvellous monument of what might there is in moral power, and a beacon to guide as well as to warn those who would take their bearings by it. Never was there a more generous, a more devout enthusiasm than that which inspired the British nation and provoked it to extort from the hands of a reluctant ministry the boon of freedom for the injured blacks. And the very injustice to which they submitted, in the sacrifice of twenty millions of their own hard-earned money to help stop the mouths of the ravening masters, enhanced the virtue, while it diminished the value of the act. It is a passage of history full of hope and instruction.

It is full of hope, for it encourages desponding mankind to believe that what men have been induced to do once, they may be induced to do again. There was, certainly, nothing in the antecedents of the British nation to lead one to anticipate such a demonstration as this. Their former conquests and victories had been for the subjugation rather than the deliverance of others, for the maintenance of the due weight of the British empire in the commonwealth of European sovereignties, or for the vindication of their own rights and privileges against domestic or foreign tyranny. Generosity and magnanimity were ever claimed as eminently British virtues, but it was the generosity of a conqueror to a captive, the magnanimity of the Strong in the subduing presence of the Weak. The Revolution of the First of August will better establish the claim of the British nation to the possession of these virtues than all the examples of which it boasts put together. And its influence will be the greater because it began not in the high places, not in palace or parliament, originally, but down deep in the heart of the people, whence it went forth conquering and to conquer. It was not, primarily, the work of prince or of prime minister, though both were compelled to do its work, but of comparatively humble and obscure men, acting on the hearts and consciences of the masses of the empire. Though its crowning battle was fought in St. Stephen's Chapel, the struggles which decided the fate of the campaign were distributed far and wide over the face of the country, and left their marks in every provincial town and in almost every hamlet.

It is full of instruction, for it covers almost every point which any Movement for the destruction of Political or Moral Evils will ever have to touch. It shows us that the continual agitation of the public mind by the presentation of true principles of action and the exposure of the false ones which have produced the evil, is the true Philosophy of Reform. It shows that a Reform proceeds from Ideas to Actions, from the Inward to the Outward, and that it is in vain to attempt to reverse this process. That its progress is to be hastened only by the faithful evolution of these true principles, of these new ideas, and that patience and perseverance are all that is necessary to make faith become sight. Five and twenty, yea, twenty years ago, the prospect of West Indian Emancipation was, to all outward appearance, as improbable and remote as that of our Slave States does now. Who believed that Great Britain would risk so great an Interest, would incur so vast an expense, would incur so deadly a peril as that act would imply? Were not her statesmen wise, her aristocracy and mercantile interest wary, her common people insensible to the sort of appeals by which this change was sought to be effected? But Elizabeth Heyrick revealed the Grand Arcanum, the principle so simple that the wise and the mighty had overlooked it, that Immediate Emancipation is equally the Right of the Slave and Duty of the Master, and the languishing Enterprise derived new life from her dying breath, and soon swept on to victory.

On the very eve of this victory in 1832-3, the support of England, relied upon on account of her identity of Slave interest, was the main dependence of South Carolina in her Nullifying tilt against New England Cotton Mills. So blind were all men to the mighty change which was going on in the English Mind and which was so soon to be projected into Law! Who knows that our own Salvation also may not come suddenly upon us, like a thief in the night? That it will come thus stealthily at the last is probable from all past history, though it may be preceded by many portentous struggles. Our relation to our Slavery is very different, to be sure, from that of the English Abolitionists to theirs. But the difference is, perhaps, more apparent than real. They had the power of direct legislation over it and could reach it more readily than we can lay hold upon American Slavery. But the first work they had to effect is precisely that which our hands find to do—the Conversion of the Pro-Slavery Mind of the American People to Anti-Slavery Truth. When this is effectually done, even in the Northern States, a way will be found, through Law or over Law, for the reduction of its Regeneration into Life. The giant obstacle, indeed, which we have to overcome, is one from which our British forerunners were free. We mean the incorporation of Slavery with our National Institutions, in such a way as to give the Slaveholders the literal control of the machine of government by virtue of their very slaveholding. That this monstrous anomaly should retard the day of our deliverance is necessary, and, as far as we are concerned, is right.

But be it ever remembered that all Institutions of Government, the most despotic as well as the most democratic, exist but by the permission of the people that live under them. They are but the clothing of the Ideas in the popular Mind. They wax old like a garment, and like a scroll they pass away. Even the Union and the Constitution can exist in their present shape no longer than the people are content with them. Still less Slavery, which, though sheltered and sanctified by them, would be eliminated from them if the distinct and determined alternative of Emancipation or Dissolution be presented to the choice of the Slaveholders. At least, this is our opinion. But, at any rate, either by Disunion and leaving the slaves and masters to settle the question, with the right on our side to help which side we please, or by Emancipation to prevent Disunion, Slavery will cease whenever the American Mind and Conscience is thoroughly awakened to its atrocities and to their own guilty share in them. No nation ever submitted to an evil which it really wished to remove because of the laws or institutions which it had either made itself or suffered to exist. When it is thoroughly aroused laws and institutions are but as cobwebs thrown over a lion. Like a dew drop from a lion's mane they are shook into the air. The business of Abolitionists is thus to arouse and excite the general mind. With all our short-comings, have we not begun to do it? Listen to the sounds that come from South and North, from Nullifier and Unionist. Read the history of the last year and a-half. The mind of a nation is like a mighty Ocean, which the movement of the invisible air can lash into foam and endow with irresistible might. If we can create the Movement, we need not fear that it will not shape itself into due form.

—E. Q.

THE BRITISH UNITARIANS ON SLAVERY.

A FRIEND has kindly sent us the Resolutions published *seriatim* and by themselves as they were passed at the meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, at its meeting in London, on the 13th of June, a full report of which we have already published. In that Report, these Resolutions will be found, but, as more convenient for reference, we republish them in this form:

AT a MEETING of MEMBERS of the BRITISH and FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION, and of the Unitarian Body generally, held at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, June 13, 1851, to deliberate on the duty of English Unitarians in reference to Slavery in the United States, Rev. Dr. HUTTON in in the Chair, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously:

1st. Proposed by Rev. GEORGE ARMSTRONG, of Bristol, seconded by Rev. T. FELIX THOMAS, of Ipswich—that this Meeting desires to express its sorrow at the present fearful attitude, morally and politically, of the Slavery question in America, and its sympathy with our brethren in the trying conflict between conscience and law, the commands of God and those of man, in which the recent enactment of the Fugitive Slave Bill has compelled every inhabitant of the Free States to take part. And while earnestly hoping that all preachers and professors of what we deem the purest form of Christianity may be guided and supported in proving its truth and practical efficacy by their prominence in depriving the iniquitous institution of Slavery of the sanction it has hitherto received from the churches of America, the Meeting declares its grateful appreciation of those courageous Unitarian ministers who, undeferred by danger and obloquy, have, by their spoken or written words, vindicated the rights of their oppressed and suffering countrymen. Among these it would record the following, who have thus rendered their names dear to all who hold sacred the cause of freedom and righteousness: Rev. Dr. Furness, Dr. Willard, Messrs. Buckingham, W. H. Channing, J. F. Clarke, Dale, Nathaniel Hall, Wentworth Higginson, Johnson, S. Longfellow, S. J. May, S. May, Jr., Theodore Parker, John Pierpont, J. L. Russell, Sargent, Shackford, Oliver Stearns, C. Stetson, S. Stone, and J. Weiss

2nd. Proposed by Rev. FRANCIS BISHOP, of Liverpool, seconded by Rev. W. A. JONES, Bridgwater—That the foregoing Resolution be transmitted by the Chairman to the Rev. S May, Jr., of Boston.

3rd. Proposed by Rev. H. RYLAND, of Bradford, seconded by Dr. CARPENTER, London—That this Meeting, while in the foregoing Resolution it has specially contemplated the case of *Unitarian* professors in America, desires also to express similar sentiments to their brethren of all other denominations in the United States.

4th. Proposed by W. H. ASHURST, Esq., London, seconded by C. J. THOMAS, Esq., of Bristol—That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to the gentlemen who convened it, and who have made the necessary arrangements for carrying it out.

5th. Proposed by J. B. ESTLIN, Esq., of Bristol, seconded by Rev. H. SOLLY, of Cheltenham, and carried by acclamation—That our cordial thanks be offered to the Rev. Dr. Hutton for the sanction he has given to this Meeting by consenting to preside over it, and for his able conduct in the chair.

—On the first of these Resolutions we intended, when it was first published, to make a remark, and we omitted to do so only because it was so obvious that it seemed of no consequence whether it was made or not. All Unitarians here would observe that the list of those clergymen who have manifested their devotion to the Anti-Slavery Cause in this country is smaller than it should be, but it would, perhaps, be rather a matter of surprise that so many should be remembered than that any should be forgotten. To make out a list, however, that should be perfectly just would be exceedingly difficult. There are men among the Unitarian Clergy of whose efforts in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Cause but little is known beyond the limits of their own societies, sometimes because they have confined themselves from a sense of duty, within that circle, and sometimes from the circumstance of local isolation, or of that peculiar temperament which prompts many men to shrink from anything like public life. Others there are who in former years have done the Cause good service, but who, sometimes through absence from the country, sometimes because no special occasion has brought them before the public, while at the same time their labours in their immediate circle have not been intermitted, are less publicly prominent than they once have been. And beside these there are other men who may not have seen eye to eye with the little army of Abolitionists, and have not been able wholly to approve of their measures and method of reform, but who nevertheless have given the work, and, so far as they could, the workers, their hearty support and cooperation. We believe that a perfect list of all such men would add many—the comparative many where all are so few—to the number of those whose names our English coadjutors record as "dear to all who hold sacred the cause of freedom and righteousness." Even with our imperfect knowledge—if an editor may make such an acknowledgment—for the last seven years of the course of the Unitarian clergymen of New England, we think we could add something to such a list. Mr. John Parkman, for instance, formerly of Dover, N. H., who has spent much of his time of late years abroad, but who was the first, if we remember right, to bring the question of Anti-Slavery before any public meeting of the Unitarian body, is one who should not be forgotten, and whose name, we are persuaded, could only have been omitted through inadvertence; Mr. Andrew P. Peabody, formerly of Portsmouth, N. H., has, in past time, done the Cause good service, and, we dare say, will again; Mr. A. R. Pope, now of Somerville, Mass., we know, has long taken a deep interest in the progress of Anti-Slavery, and has never hesitated, that we know of, to identify himself with the foes of Slavery when it seemed necessary; Mr. Claudius Bradford was an Abolitionist when many who are Abolitionists now were pro-slavery, and he has never, that we have ever heard, gone over to the enemy; Mr. Briggs, of Plymouth, Mass., has borne his testimony when it cost something to do so, and when we were a frequent attendant upon the Annual Anti-Slavery meetings in Boston his face was among the most familiar among those on and around the platform; then there are such men as Dr. Lowell, and Dr. Francis of Cambridge, whose influence though they may be far enough from agreeing with the ultraisms of the most ultra reformers, is, we have always believed, on the side of truth and humanity in this Cause. And, no doubt, there are others no less deserving of being distinguished as having vindicated the rights of their oppressed and suffering countrymen, though their names and their works may be unknown to us; and far better is it, and far more just, both for their sake and for the sake of the Cause that they should be identified with the opponents of Slavery than with Drs. Dewey, and Gannett, and Gilman, the friends of Slavery and the opponents of the Abolitionists.

ATTEMPT AT REVOLUTION IN CUBA.

THAT which was to be done by a piratical invasion of the island of Cuba from this country, the Cubans themselves have undertaken to do without assistance. A serious attempt, it seems, though the reports are somewhat contradictory, is commenced at revolution. Intelligence was received here a week ago of a skirmish at Puerto Principe on the 3d of July in which one Sanchez was taken prisoner and a few arms captured, but it was not supposed that it would lead to any farther results or that it was the first step in a premeditated movement. On the 4th of July, however, a regular Declaration of Independence was made, and a more serious collision between the Government troops and the insurgents took place near the village of Cascorro at the foot of the mountains of the same name. The troops here, says the report, overtook the guerilla party of Joaquin Aguero y Aguero. The Cubans numbered 200 men and the Spaniards 300 men, consisting of 100 lancers and 200 infantry. After a sharp engagement the Spaniards fled, their captain and 20 others being killed, together with eighteen wounded. The Cubans had only two or three wounded and none killed. Twelve Spanish soldiers came over to the Cuban side. This battle inspired very great confidence among the people, and immediately the number of the insurgents increased rapidly. At the last accounts they were known to number 1,000 men and more. These were divided into five guerilla parties of 200 men each, under the commands of Joaquin Aguery y Aguero, Francisco Aguero y Estrada, and Ubaldo Arteaga y Pina. These parties are stationed around in the strongholds in the vicinity of Cascorro and Puerto Principe, drilling and augmenting their numbers.

After the battle of the 4th, the Spanish troops hurried back to Principe, seventeen leagues from Cascorro. When the news of the defeat reached Principe, there was a great excitement among the people, and nothing but the large number of soldiers prevented a general rising and massacre of the troops. The garrison is over 4,000, but notwithstanding this large number, General Lemery did not dare to withdraw a single man to go out in pursuit of the Cubans for fear of a rising, but awaited the arrival of reenforcements from Havanna, having sent for 2,000 men. (The last news from Havanna stated that these troops had sailed for Principe, 450 miles distant.) Thus while General Lemery was confined at Principe, the Cubans were gathering numbers and strength.

At the last accounts from Principe many of the Cubans had left the place to join the guerillas. From the town of Bayamo a party of 200 men had gone up; from Villa Clara 100, and numbers from Nuevitas, and all the towns in the vicinity of Principe As fast as the news spread the people sent off parties to the Mountains, so that the number of the insurgents will have become very formidable before the Spanish troops can be brought against them, but the Cubans are poorly armed and labour under many disadvantages. Aguero Sanchez was confined in prison at Principe; he is the son of one of the most influential men in the place. It is supposed he will be shot.

We copy below the Declaration of the leaders of the insurgent Cubans, and should not another week bring us intelligence of the end of the Revolution, and that the Senors Aguero, Estrada, and Pina have been shot, we may have some remarks to make upon this Manifesto:

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

MANIFEST AND PROCLAMATION *of their Independence by the Liberating Society of Puerto Principe.* [*La Sociadad Lebertadora de P. P.*]

JULY 4, 1851.

Human reason revolts against the idea that the social and political condition of a people can be indefinitely prolonged, in which man, stripped of all rights and guarrantees; with no security of person or property, no enjoyment in the present, no hope in the future, lives only by the will and under the conditions imposed by the pleasure of his tyrants; where a vile calumny, a prisoner's denunciation, a despot's suspicion, a word caught up by surprise in the sanctuary of home, or from the violated privacy of a letter, furnishes ample ground for tearing a man from his hearth and casting him forth to die of destitution or despair in a foreign soil, and if he escapes being subjected to the insulting forms of a barbarous and arbitrary tribunal, where his persecutors are themselves the judges, who condemn him, and where instead of their proving his offence he is required to prove his innocence.

A situation so violent as this Cuba has now been for many years enduring; and far from any promise of remedy appearing, every day adds new proof that the policy of the mother country and the ferocity of her rulers will grant neither truce nor rest till she is reduced to the condition of an immense prison, where every Cuban will be watched by a guard, and will have to pay that guard for watching him. In vain have this people exhibited a mildness, a prudence, and even a submission and loyalty which have been proverbial.

When the iniquity of the Government has not been able to find any ostensible grounds for persecution, it has had recourse to cowardly arts and snares to tempt its victims into some offence Thus, were various individuals of Matanzas entrapped into an ambuscade of the soldiery, by the pretext of selling them some arms, under circumstances which made them believe these arms necessary for self-defence against threatened attacks from the Peninsulars. Thus, have sergeants, and even officers been seen to mingle with the country people and pass themselves off as the enemies of the Government, for the purpose of betraying them into avowals of their sentiments—to the ruin of many persons so informed against, as to the disgrace of military honour on the part of those who have lent themselves to so villainous a service.

If the sons of Cuba, moved by the dread of greater evils, have ever determined to employ legitimate means of imposing some law, or some restraint upon the unbridled excesses of their rulers, these latter have always found the way to distort such acts into attempts at rebellion.

For having dared to give utterance to principles and opinions which, to other nations, constitute the foundation of their moral progress and glory, the Cubans most distinguished for their virtues and talents have found themselves wanderers and exiles. For the offence of having exhibited their opposition to the unlawful and perilous Slave Trade, from which the avarice of General O'Donnell promised itself so rich a harvest of lucre, the latter satiated his resentment with the monstrous vengeance of involving them in a charge of conspiracy with the free coloured people and the slaves of the estates; endeavouring, as the last outrage that an immoral Government could offer to law, to reason, or to nature, to prove the object of that conspiracy, in which they implicated whites of the most eminent virtue, knowledge and patriotism, to have been no other than "the destruction of their own race."

All the laws of society and nature trampled under foot, all races and conditions confounded together, the Island of Cuba then presented to the civilised world a spectacle worthy of the rejoicings of hell. The wretched slaves saw their flesh torn from them under the lash, and bespattered with blood the faces of their executioners, who did not cease exacting from their tortures, denunciations against accomplices. Others were shot in platoons without form of trial, and without even coming to understand the pretext under which they were massacred. The free coloured people, after having been first lacerated by the lash, were then hurried to the scaffold, and those only escaped with life who had gold enough to appease the fury of their executioners. And, nevertheless, when the Government or its followers have come to fear some rising of the Cubans, their first threat has been that of arming the coloured people against them for their extermination. We abstain for very shame from repeating the senseless pretences to which they have had recourse to terrify the timid. Wretches! How have they been able to imagine that the victims of their fury, with whom the whites of Cuba have shared in common the horrors of misery and persecution, will turn against their own friends, at the call of the very tyrant who has torn them in pieces. If the free coloured people, who know their interests as well as the whites, take any part in the movement of Cuba, it certainly will not be to the injury of the mother who shelters them in her bosom, nor of those other sons of hers who have

All the means united at the disposal of the Peninsulars in Cuba against us could only make the struggle more protracted and disastrous, but the issue in our favour could not be any the less sure and decisive.

In the ranks of Independence we have to count all the free sons of Cuba, whatever may be the colour of their race; the brave natives of South America, who inhabit our soil, and who have already made trial of the strength and conduct of our tyrants; the sturdy Islanders of the Canaries, who love Cuba as their country, and who have already had a Hernandez and a Montes de Oca, to seal with the proof of martyrdom the heroic decision of their compatriots for our cause.

The ranks of the Government would find themselves constantly thinned by desertion, by climate, by death, which from all quarters would spring up among them, in a thousand forms. Cut short of means to pay and maintain their army, dependant on recruits from Spain to fill up their vacancies, without an inch of friendly ground on which to plant their foot, or an individual on whom to rely with security, war in the field would be for them one of extermination; while if they shut themselves within the defences of their fortresses, hunger and want would soon compel them to abandon them, if they were not carried by force of arms. The example of the whole Continent of Spanish America, under circumstances more favourable for them, when they had Cuba as their Arsenal, the benefit of her coffers, and native aid in those countries themselves, ought to serve them a lesson not to undertake an exterminating and fratricidal struggle, which could not fail to be attended with the same or worse results.

We, on the other hand, besides our own resources, have in the neighbouring States of the Union, and in all the Republics of America, the encampment of our troops, the dépots of our supplies, and the arsenals of our arms. All the sons of this vast New World, whose bosom shelters the Island of Cuba, and who have had, like us, to shake off by force, the yoke of tyranny, will enthusiastically applaud our resolve, will fly by hundreds to place themselves beneath the Flag of Liberty in our ranks, and their trained and experienced valour will aid us in annihilating, once and for always, the last badge of ignominy that still disgraces the free and independent soil of America.

If we have hitherto hoped, with patience and resignation, that justice and their own interests would change the minds of our tyrants; if we have trusted to external efforts to bring the mother country to a negotiation which should avoid the disasters of war, we are resolved to prove by deeds that inaction and that endurance have not been the result of impotence and cowardice. Let the Government undeceive itself in regard to the power of its bayonets, and the efficacy of all the means it has invented to oppress and watch us. In the face of its very authorities, in the sight of the spies at our side, on the day when we have resolved to demand back our rights, and by force to break our chains, nothing has prevented us from combining the plan of our revolution, and the cry of LIBERTY and INDEPENDENCE will rise from the Cape of San Antonio to the point of Maisi.

We, then, as Provisional Representatives of the People of Cuba, and in the exercise of the Rights which God and Nature have bestowed upon every Freeman, to secure his welfare and establish himself under the form of government that suits him, do solemnly declare, taking God to witness the ends we propose, and invoking the favour of the people of America, who have preceded us, with their example, that the Island of Cuba is, and by the laws of Nature ought to be independent of Spain; and that henceforth the inhabitants of Cuba are free from all obedience or subjection to the Spanish Government, and the individuals composing it; owing submission only to the authority and direction of those who, while awaiting the action of the general suffrage of the people, are charged, or may provisionally charge themselves, with the command and government of each locality, and and of the military forces.

By virtue of this declaration, the free sons of Cuba, and the other inhabitants of the island, who, adhering to her cause, are authorized to take up arms, to unite into corps, to name officers and juntas of Government for their organization and direction, and for the purpose of putting themselves in communication with the juntas constituted for the proclamation of the Independence of Cuba, and which have given the initiative to this movement. Placed in the imposing attitude of making themselves respected, our compatriots will prefer all the means of persuasion to those of force; they will protect the property of neutrals, whatever may be their origin; they will welcome the Peninsulars into their ranks as brothers, and will respect all property.

If, notwithstanding our purposes and fraternal intentions, the Spanish government should find partizans obstinately bent upon sustaining it, and we have to owe our Liberty to the force of arms, Sons of Cuba! let us prove to the Republics of America, which are contemplating us, that our having been the last to follow their example, does not make us unworthy of them, nor incapable of meriting our Liberty and achieving our Independence.

JOAQUIN DE AGURO AGUERO.
FRANCISCO AGUERO ESTRADA.
UBALDO ARTEAGA PINA.

THE RIGHTS OF FREEMEN UNDER DESPOTISMS.

We have had no misgivings as to the perfect truthfulness and honesty of our statement last week, that the Lynching of Northern Citizens in Southern States is a matter of complete indifference to that precious conservator of public morals, the public press; but to justify the remarks made in the last *Standard* we have taken some trouble, the past week, to observe what sort of comment the brutal treatment to which Watson was subjected in Georgia excited in Northern newspapers. As we supposed it would be, the fact has been dismissed, if noticed at all, in the briefest possible manner, as worthy only of a place as a mere item of news, and, except in rare instances, calling forth no word of remonstrance or any expression of indignation. By one of those curious coincidences, moreover, which sometimes occur and almost justify a belief in special Providences, it happens that hardly a paper in the country for a week past but has felt itself called upon to record how shockingly one Mr. Brace has been treated by the Austrian authorities for travelling in Hungary with no other purpose than to observe and report upon the working of her institutions. That his case is a hard one, and the Austrian powers acted the part of tyrants, of course, we admit, and anybody may see who will take the trouble to read the columns of comment and the letters from Mr. Brace himself which make the staple of newspaper literature for some days past. But as we are so fortunate as not to live under the rule of the Austrian Emperor, and have no manner of concern, as citizens, with the governmental policy of that Empire, while we have the misfortune to live under the Constitution of the United States, and have something to do with the policy of the Southern States of this Union, we prefer to use our columns to disseminate such facts as are stated in the paragraphs below, and reserve our indignation for the tyranny that creates them, and the subserviency that permits them to go unrebuked and uncorrected. Mr. Brace was examined and imprisoned for a short period but permitted at length to depart unhurt. We saw last week how the Georgians treated Mr. Watson for the similar offence of holding liberal opinions. See now what sort of hospitality our fellow-citizens of Alabama extend to a poor cripple who also took the liberty of remarking on the condition of the people by whom he was surrounded:

AN ABOLITIONIST SERVED RIGHT—Our usually quiet little town was thrown into a state of some excitement on Saturday last, by the report that an *Abolitionist* was in our streets. A man who said his name was D. S. McCoy, an itenerant clock-mender, visited this place on Tuesday last, and spoke pretty freely on questions of free-soil, &c., but it seems that no one paid any attention to the fellow, not thinking him an Abolitionist. On Saturday McCoy again made his appearance in the village, and went on in such a way as to leave no room to doubt his being an unadulterated Abolitionist; having been seen some days previous in a very suspicious conversation with a coloured man belonging to Mrs. Allen. Our worthy fellow-townsman Richard F. Cook, Esq., went to McCoy and told him he must leave the place immediately—that the citizens were indignant at his conduct, and that if he did not leave as requested he would certainly receive such punishment at their hands as his infamous conduct would authorize them to inflict on their worst enemy. The Abolitionist, not heeding the friendly advice given him, remained, and a number (in fact all) of the villagers assembled and procured a very ugly pole, placed the Abolitionist on it, and gave him as comfortable a ride down to the double branches as the circumstances of the case would admit of. Arrived at the branches the pole slipped, and down slid Mr. McCoy into

Beulah's limpid waters;

considerably refreshed, but *unregenerated!* He was then told he might leave without further indignities being shown him, but he maintained his stubborn and dogged will to outbrave the masses that surrounded him; still paying no heed to the good advice of the humane, he continued his threats and refused to leave, bidding defiance to the whole community. The citizens then, seeing that they would have to use stronger remedies, as his case was a very hopeless one, procured a basket of all sorts of feathers and a bucket of tar, together with a substantial wagon-whip with a very extensive thong attached thereto, and were about to apply *things* that were calculated to have a moving effect on his hitherto stubborn bowels—when, just then, he *caved*, and concluded to retire in peace. After mounting his horse and getting off a respectful distance, he uttered the most awful threats and imprecations on the devoted Trojans, who were about to get at him again, when lo! he *vamosed*, and when last seen he was on his way to see the Governor!

McCoy is a *one-legged* man, and it is altogether owing to that circumstance that he saved his bacon! No *two-legged* Abolitionist can come here and say what McCoy said, and take his hide away whole cloth.

From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, 21st.

This man was in our city on Thursday, and observed to be very turbulent and abusive of Col. Cochran's sentiments during and after the conclusion of his speech in the court house on that day. And we also learn he was equally abusive of Mr. Noble, one of the State Rights candidates, at Garner's precinct, during the discussion there week before last. We understand his business here was to procure counsel to prosecute his maltreaters at Troy. We are informed he was in the city as late as Friday evening, and has probably not yet left. He has evidently mistaken the character of our people, if he supposes his presence will be tolerated when his true character is known. And we would counsel him to leave for a climate more congenial to the promulgation of his fanatical sentiments than that of Alabama, with little delay. We understand he says he is from New York; and is doubtless one of such agents as the Cazenovia Abolition Convention informed us they had travelling through the slave States to swell the list of fugitives. His pretended occupation is that of a clock repairer. All these agents spoken of by the Convention alluded to, are traveling under the disguised garb of some innocent baisness, and in that way have successfully prosecuted their *real mission* undetected. We caution our citizens against this man; that he is intent on mischief, we think there is little room for doubt. Such men should be scourged from the community.

SELF-EMANCIPATION.—If the old objection of "Can't take care of themselves" had not, long ago, become so absurd that not even the *Journal of Commerce* resorts to it now to justify Slavery, the following story might be told as a proof of how apt some of the slaves are in acquiring property under disadvantages which no free man is called upon to encounter. It is told by the Rev. J. M. Pease, an active agent of the Colonization Society, and, of course, is a simple statement of a fact:

Yesterday, John Ballows, an African, called on me, to see when another vessel is going to Liberia. He gave me the following information, which I have since been assured is strictly true.

He came from Congo, Africa, to one of the French islands in the West Indies, when thirteen years old. He finally came with his master and family to Charleston; there his master died, and his mistress came to this city. In 1818 he purchased himself, paying $600; a few years ago he purchased his wife for $500, and this season he has finished paying for his son, $708. Himself, wife and son, now desire to go to Liberia, by the first opportunity from this port. He is a fine-looking man, with strong marks of sterling character, both moral and physical. He is well known as a most virtuous and industrious man. Himself and wife are members of the Christian Church. All three heard me on Sabbath night, and he came to me, blessing God for the happiness he felt. He said that he was a witness that all I said respecting Africa was true. He thanked God, with tears streaming from his eyes, that a merciful hand of Providence had brought him in his childhood from Africa, and in his youth planted his feet in America; that here, in Savannah, he became a Christian; and that now he was ready to go back to his native land and preach Christ, in his old age, to his heathen brethren.

This moment, the noble old Christian has come to see me, and give me a letter to his friends at Greenville, Simoe, Liberia. He says, "Oh, sir, God bless you, and help you to do much good in His holy cause. Me and my wife would have gone years ago, but for this boy; we could not leave him. And now I have just paid $703 for him. He is nineteen years old; and should I die in *two days* after reaching there, I would go, for this boy will live, and do good there, when I am dead."

The poor fellow, no doubt, has been grossly imposed upon as to the character of the country to which he was about to be exiled, though the attempts at such imposition are not always successful, or not always practised, as in the case of some slaves we heard of recently, who were marched down to the vessel, bound for Liberia, *in chains*.

REPUBLICANISM IN VIRGINIA.—The State of Virginia, in her new Constitution, just adopted, makes the following provisions against the possible freedom, and even the possible existence, should that become objectionable, of the coloured race upon her soil. The "otherwise," in the second proviso, must contemplate the enslavement of the whole free coloured people of Virginia, or their complete destruction by slaughter. To put them all to the sword would be the most merciful dispensation:

1. Slaves hereafter emancipated shall forfeit their freedom by remaining in this Commonwealth more than twelve months after they shall have become actually free, and shall be reduced to Slavery, under such regulations as may be prescribed by law.

2. The General Assembly may impose such limitations, restrictions and conditions as they shall deem proper, on the power of slave-owners to emancipate their slaves; and may pass laws for the relief of the Commonwealth from the free negro population, by removal or otherwise.

SLAVE-OWNING CHURCHES.—President Blanchard, of Knox College, Illinois, estimates, upon calculations based upon the United States Census and the Statistics of the several religious bodies, that the Methodists of this Country own 219,563 slaves; Presbyterians (Old and New School), 77,000; Baptists, 115,000; Campbellites, 101,000; Episcopalians, 88,000; other Protestants, 50,000—making a sum total of 650,663 slaves owned by ministers and members of Protestant Churches in the United States. This would give the sum of $570,225,200, as the amount invested by American Christians in the flesh and blood of their fellow men, estimating each to be worth no more than $400 each—human currency. Such an argument against agitation is as strong with the Church North as the price of Cotton, or an old stock of silk goods suitable to the Southern Market, is to a Union patriot of New York.

Communications.

OUR CAUSE.

IS THERE any thing to be said against it? Who will be the man to make the assertion? Stand forth, thou who wishest to take up this glove of defiance! What hast thou to say against this, the cause of Liberty, of Justice, of the Eternal Father, and of his thousands of Human Children? For once be honest, thou too hasty caviller, and admit that nothing *can* be said against the enterprise.

Is there any thing, then, to be said *for* it? Every thing! It is a good, just, noble, holy cause. It is the cause of three millions of slaves, who, if they were *not* slaves, would be no whit less than our own brothers. It is the cause of three millions of poor, oppressed *whites* in the slave States. It is the cause of those States themselves, for Slavery is their curse, and, unrepented of, it will be their ruin. It is the cause even of the 113,000 *slave-owners*, for, if they do not speedily put this iniquity away from among them, it will whelm them in a destruction greater than that which overthrew Pharaoh and his hosts in the Red Sea. It is the cause of the so-called Free States; for until it triumphs, they will be nothing *but* so-called Free States. It is the cause of all the 24,000,000 of people who constitute this great nation, living East, West, North and South; for it is impartial; it is no respecter of persons; it regards and blesses all alike. It is the cause of the Union itself—that is, of the *true* Union—for its success would make a real Union *possible*; for not only is none possible now, but, as a plain matter of fact, there *is* none. And so it is the cause of Republicanism, of Democracy, of Popular Government, and of the great Experiment in favour of all these, which has been attempted here in the New World. It is the same cause for which our fathers waged the War of the Revolution; and to defend which, they pledged their 'lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour,' when they published their immortal Declaration of Independence. It is the same cause for which Lafayette bled, and Warren fell, and whole columns went down on the fields of Monmouth, and Camden, and Bunker's Hill. It is the cause which has made Faneuil Hall glorious, and which has shed everlasting honour on the names of Samuel and John Adams, Otis and Hancock, Henry and Washington. It is the cause in defence of which the Puritans came over in the Mayflower, which has made the names of Carver and Bradford and Winthrop illustrious, and which can never cease to be dear to the hearts of men, so long as their affectionate memories shall cluster around Plymouth Rock. It is the cause of the poor operatives of England, of the starving sons of the Erin Isle, of the serf of Russia, of Kossuth and the brave Magyars, of the slaves of Cuba and Brazil, and of the millions of wretches down-trodden and victimized every where. In short, it is the cause of the Human Race, and of God, the Father of that race. You who oppose, and sneer, and labour with might and main to destroy, it is *your* cause, though you know it not. It would honour and not disgrace you; it would confer blessings, and not curses, if you would engage in its advocacy; and, for all you expended in its support, it would pay again into your bosom double.

Who will help so good a cause, then? I asked that question wrong end foremost: who will *not* help it? Let a man *think* before he says 'I will not.' Let him think of his mother, and not spit in her face. Let him think of his brother, the twin who lay with him in the cradle, and not doom him to a life of bondage. Let him think of his sister, the gentle girl who sat on the same knee in childhood, and not place her on the auction block, and consign her to a life of infamy. Let him think of his *own* liberty, and not sacrifice it; for be every man sure that if he forges fetters for another, he binds chains around his own neck. Let him think of his race, the great Brotherhood, and not himself become a Nero, to cut off the head of the whole in one day!

Friend, you are in a bad cause; turn about and walk with us; become a helper; become an Abolitionist!

JOSEPH TREAT.

New York, July 24th, 1851.

DEAR GAY: In a recent communication, I stated that only two of the English Unitarian Congregations (those at Bristol and Warrington) had taken any action touching the Fugitive Slave Law of this "land of the free and home of the brave," and the connexion of many of their American Unitarian brethren with it. This was the case, so far as I was then informed. I am very happy to be able now to say that quite a large number of the congregations, surprised and displeased, doubtless, that the Western Unitarian Union and the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association had refused to entertain this subject, have held meetings, at which the questions of American Slavery, the Fugitive Law, and the support rendered to both by leading American Unitarians, were the especial topics of consideration. Among these may be named the George's Meeting, Exeter; the Congregation at Bury; the St. Mark's Congregation, at Edinburgh; the Unity Chapel Congregation, at Topsham; Mill Hill Chapel Congregation, at Leeds (whose action you referred to in the *Standard* of last week), &c. &c. Several of the larger District Associations also have spoken distinctly on the subject, and in a way greatly to encourage the friends of the Abolition of Slavery. Among these are the Eastern Unitarian Christian Society; the Lancashire and Cheshire Provincial Assembly; the West Riding Tract and Mission Society; the Midland Presbyterian or Unitarian Association; and the Irish Christian Unitarian Society; the last three of which you noticed last week.

Permit me, not as a Unitarian, but as a friend to the Anti-Slavery cause, to thank you for the article in the last *Standard* on the "British Unitarians and Slavery," and for the faithful effort you have been making, in the silence of the Unitarian presses here, to let the Unitarians of this country know what their brethren in Great Britain and Ireland are doing and saying upon the subject of American Slavery. The truth will find its way to the light, despite the craftiness of pseudo-liberal editors and presses.

NEW ENGLAND.

THE NORTH STAR.

THIS useful guide to the panting fugitive slave, and to those who favoured his escape from the prison-house of southern bondage, has for the present (by arrangements made with the man in the moon or some other holy person) refused to shine. An eclipse, not set down in the Almanac, seems to have revolutionized the existing order of the planetary system. Fears have been entertained for some time that this star was growing rather unsteady. South of Mason & Dixon's line, it was regarded, at one time, as being the only true polar star, and could always be seen with the naked eye; but since it has crossed the Syracusian line, it has baffled the most skilful astronomers with telescopic aid to discover its new location. The halo of glory which for the last three years has encircled its orb, has gradually thrown off its scintillations like sparks from the smith's anvil until its redness has become dim. It is said by astrologers that the *cardinal* point of the North Star, in one of its ascending nodes in search of the twins, *Conscience* and the *Constitution*, unfortunately struck against the pole of the coalition star. The result of the collision is, that it has lost its *attraction*, and is now in the hands of the tinker. Whether he will be able to repair the damage will depend materially upon his skill in star mending. It is a new business in astronomy, and will, I think, require more than ordinary skill to place that planet in its legitimate sphere. It is true we have a substitute for the star, who has kindly volunteered to take its place and *shine* during the contemplated repairs without extra pay. A regular Jubilee will be proclaimed in a few days throughout the southern region, not among slaves for whose especial good the North Star was created, but to slaveholders whose property under its guidance took legs to themselves and walked away.

WM. P. POWELL.

Miscellaneous News.

CHURCH ACTION AGAINST SLAVERY.

THE following Resolutions were adopted recently by the Hillsborough (N. H.) Conference of the Congregational Churches:—

Whereas, Slavery as regulated by the laws of the slaveholding States is a great moral and political evil—a great evil to the slaveholder and to the slave, and ought to be opposed in its extension by appropriate means.

Resolved, That men in relation to their fellow men are their own; and that they retain their ownership, unless they forfeit it by crime.

Resolved, That when one man takes another into his possession as his own property, and controls him at his pleasure, he robs him of his rights which the Author of nature had given him.

Resolved, That slaveholding, established by law, is no less a crime than the first act which robs man of himself.

Resolved, That those who hold slaves by inheritance, or by purchase, have no *moral* right to hold them as property and treat them as pleasure or interest may dictate, than they have to import the natives of Africa and make them their bondmen.

Resolved, That it is *morally* right for slaves to escape from bondage, and when they have thus gained their liberty, the act of capturing or aiding in capturing them for the purpose of returning them to bondage, is one of the same nature as the first act of enslaving them.

Resolved, That the law which provides for the capture and return of fugitive slaves, and requiring men in the free States to aid in their capture and return, is the same in moral principle as the providing for the capture and enslavement of any other free men, and requiring our citizens to aid in the work.

Resolved, That the present Fugitive Slave Law imposes a service on the citizens of the free States that violates their natural and religious rights.

Resolved, That it is better to suffer the penalty of the Fugitive Slave Law than to aid to carry it into execution.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all citizens to use all judicious and constitutional means for the repeal of this oppressive law.

——EMANCIPATION OF NINETY SLAVES.—(Richmond, Va., June 28th.)—Mr. Wm. Ragland, of Caroline county in this State, died, a bachelor in the summer of 1849, leaving 90 slaves and about $50,000 in other property, after the payment of all his debts.

He left a will, which provides that all his slaves shall have their freedom, and remain upon his plantation to enjoy the fruits of their own labour, and of the property which they had helped him to accumulate, with this alternate provision, that if the settlement of his emancipated slaves upon his plantation under trustees should be contrary to the policy of the law which requires that emancipated slaves shall be carried out of the State, then his executors shall convert his estate, real and personal, (slaves of course excepted,) into money, pay his debts, and with the balance of the money, probably $50,000, settle his slaves in some free State. This will has been contested by the relatives of Mr. Ragland in the Courts of Caroline, and recently established in favour of the slaves, by the Supreme Court in the city of Richmond. The case was argued with great ability on both sides, and the decision meets the general approbation of the community.

These slaves, who have thus become free by the justice and humanity of Mr. Ragland, will be removed, as soon as practicable, to some free State of this Union, or to Liberia.—*Cor. of the Congregational Journal.*

——MADAME D'ARASMONT (FANNY WRIGHT) AT LAW.—The important case of Frances Wright D'Arasmont against W. P. D'Arasmont, Frances Sylva D'Arasmont, and others, was opened yesterday, before Judge Warden, who sat in the law library room. The case comes before the court in the form of an application for an injunction, the appointment of a receiver, and an allowance in the nature of alimony, expenses of litigation, &c. It appeared, from the reading of the petition a document of extraordinary bulk, that the petitioner was born in Scotland, and became possessed, by inheritance, of considerable property; that in 1830 she visited this country, invested a portion of her funds in the purchase of estates in Cincinnati and in the South, and in 1831 visiting France, she there married W. P. D'Arasmont, by whom she had one daughter. The petitioner had, between that period and 1845, paid several visits to the United States, where she had desired permanently to reside, and had also visited Scotland, where a valuable property had fallen to her as heir at law.—She had about this time changed funds vested in her own name, to that of her husband, trusting in his honour; and the bill charged that a portion of this property had been sold by W. P. D'Arasmont, and that this respondent had deprived her, by chicanery, not only of her property, but of the love and companionship of her daughter, now grown to womanhood. The case will occupy at least a week.—*Cincinnati Commercial.*

——LAUGHABLE.—The *Boston Commonwealth* says: There was a capital, though somewhat cruel, jest in the manner in which General Carpenter, of Providence, was called upon to make his speech at the dinner of the Story Association. This has already set the whole State of Rhode-Island upon a broad laugh. We are quite sure that the amiable President, when regarding significantly General Carpenter, and looking to him for a response, was quite unaware of the ludicrous position in which he was placing him, in demanding of him a reply to the following toast:

The State of Rhode-Island—In revolutions and in riots, always true to law and order.

Now it happens that the *law* which General Carpenter not long since upheld in Rhode-Island, was the law of the Foundry Legislature, and of the so-called Governor Dorr. The *order* which he advocated, and in fact to which he belonged, was the "order of march" to Chepatchet.

For the practice of the principles of the Dorr school of law in Rhode-Island, during their troubles in that State, General Carpenter was arrested and put in prison. And well may Rhode-Island laugh to behold a man of such antecedents rising in Massachusetts to pronounce an harangue on "law and order."

——THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—Near the close of the late session of the Connecticut Legislature, Mr. Mitchell, of the Third District, the democratic leader in the Senate, and formerly editor of the Hartford *Times*, introduced a series of six resolutions, relating to the recent legislation of the federal government. The four resolutions which stood first, were literally copied from the famous Virginia resolutions of 1798, asserting the principle of a strict construction of the federal constitution, and the two others contain an application of the principle to the Fugitive Slave law. The history of Mr. Mitchell's resolutions is rather curious.

During the late session of the Connecticut Legislature, there was a good deal of intrigue and indirect management in regard to the election of a United States Senator, and the compromise measures. A number of politicians of both parties were seized with alarming symptoms of love for the Union. They could not agree however, as to the form of declaring their passion, and the result was that the "Committee on Federal Relations," a joint standing committee, serving as a sort of stalking-horse for politicians, reported two sets of resolutions, each favourable to the compromise measures, and taking a position directly opposite to the one which the State previously held. There was another set of resolutions presented by the only Free-Soil Senator on the committee, which were not reported to the Senate with the others, but which were produced on a demand made for them in the course of the debate.

The legislature adjourned *sine die* on Wednesday, the committee delayed their report till the Monday previous. The resolutions were ordered to be printed and made the order of the day for Tuesday, but were not taken up till the Senate was about to adjourn for the day. After a brief discussion, not exceeding thirty minutes, Mr. Mitchell said that he could not vote for either of the two sets of resolutions; and as the subject was important, involving questions as to the rights and duties of the federal and State governments, he objected to sanctioning either of them by any hasty legislative proceeding.

The right of Congress to pass any law for the rendition of slaves he totally denied; the constitution gave no such power, and the power not being granted, it was by an express provision reserved to the States. That a State could pass a law for the extradition of fugitives no senator, he remarked, would deny. If the State could, the federal government could not. The power was either granted or it was reserved; if granted, he should like to see where was the grant. But he would not vote on the question so late in the session, and moved that the whole matter be indefinitely postponed. The motion was carried by a vote of eleven to six.

This result threw the managers on both sides into confusion, and they began to intrigue with the House of Representatives and to drill its members. The democratic managers got the start of their rivals—not opponents—and had the address to procure the adoption of their own particular set of resolutions, which were hurried through the House without debate or consideration.

As the resolutions were joint they must be passed by the Senate likewise; and to the Senate they were sent, where, under the drill, they were again considered, and every thing seemed going on smoothly. Unexpectedly to all parties, Mr. Mitchell presented a series of resolutions as a substitute for the resolutions adopted by the House. They came like a bomb-shell in to the Senate, and there was no hesitation, after they were read, in agreeing to an indefinite postponement of the whole subject. Had the subject been considered at an earlier day and discussed and understood, it is the opinion of men best qualified to form an opinion that Mr. Mitchell's resolutions would have been adopted.—*Evening Post.*

——THE *Evening Post* has private advices from Kentucky, to the effect that CASSIUS M. CLAY will probably poll at least 10,000 for Governor in that State, as the Emancipation candidate.

——A WRITER in the *North Carolina Sentinel* expresses a wish that the Devil had all the South Carolina traitors. We can't see what the Devil is to do with them. They are all such fire-eaters that they would probably *eat him out of house and home.*—*Louisville Journal.*

——MYSTERIOUS.—The *Daily Advertiser* of yesterday contained a most extraordinary article. It is headed mysteriously, "Burst of Hon Daniel Webster," and goes on to say that it is the "latest and best burst of this distinguished Statesman." The public are then cautioned against the purchase of a spurious "burst" said to be a combination of Mr. Clevenger's "burst" and Mr. King's which is being hawked about the city. When and where Mr. Webster accomplished this "latest and best burst" we are not informed, but suppose it must have some connection with the compromise measures.—*N. Y. Mercury.*

——DEATH OF THE WHITE MOUNTAIN PATRIARCH.—We learn from the White Mountains, that on Tuesday night, the venerable patriarch of the mountains, Abel Crawford, Esq., departed this life. He died after a lingering and painful illness, at the advanced age of eighty-six. Mr. Crawford was one of the earliest settlers in those wild and secluded regions, having resided for about sixty years on the spot where the Mount Crawford House now stands, about six miles below the Notch Valley. His name has long been identified with the White Mountains, and his memory will long be cherished by all who have ever frequented those regions. Possessing a most stalwart frame and a vigourous constitution, he was always noted for the energy and strength of his character, and his sterling integrity. He was one of an honoured class—the hardy pioneers of the wilderness—whose numbers are rapidly passing away. In the death of the old patriarch Crawford, the White Mountains lose one, and not the least, of their many great attractions.—*Boston Traveller.*

——SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA.—We have for some time past been aware of the existence of an organization, got up by the leaders of the Democratic party in this city and elsewhere, the object of which is to divide the State with a view to the introduction of Slavery in the Southern portion of the present commonwealth. Until within the last ten or fifteen days, we looked upon the movement as the offspring of a diseased imagination on the part of a few restless, ambitious ultra Southern disunionists, that would result in nothing but a ridiculous farce, and draw upon its projectors the contempt of the public. When the scheme was first concocted, the character of the men who headed it warranted the belief that it would never disturb the peace or endanger the welfare of the State. But since it has been espoused by many of the most intelligent and respectable men in the Democratic party—men who are the acknowledged exponents of the principles and policy of that party—it has assumed a more serious aspect, and invites the scrutiny and earnest attention of every man who has an interest in the honour and prosperity of the State.

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The plan was conceived in the first place by a few restless spirits who cannot exist except in strife, convulsion and revolution—men to whom excitement and notoriety is the breath of life. They have since been joined by the emissaries of disunionists in South Carolina, Alabama, and Texas, who have been sent here to create discord, division, and a foothold for Slavery.—*San Francisco Picayune.*

——DEPENDENCE OF THE SOUTH ON THE NORTH.—A correspondent of the 'Lawrence *Courier*' says:—"Southerners feel their dependence upon the North and are reminded of it at every turn. Their slaves are clothed from Northern manufactures, and work with Northern hoes and ploughs. The master wears a Northern hat and boots, rides on a Northern saddle, and sports a Northern saddle and harness; he lounges on a Northern sofa, and walks upon a Northern carpet; his house is lighted with Northern candles, or with Northern lamps filled with the oil procured by Northern whalemen; he washes his hands with Northern soap, and brushes his teeth and hair with Northern brushes; he employs Northern teachers for his children, or sends them to a Northern seminary; his wife lodges for a tour to a Northern watering place, and finds her wardrobe incomplete without a bandbox full of Yankee notions; his children cry for Northern toys, and his dog wears a Northern collar; Northern fisheries supply his tables, and he cools his mint julep and brandy toddy with Northern ice; and while he luxuriates on Northern dainties, he rubs his hands and shudders at the thought of spending his life in the frigid atmosphere of New England, and amidst the still more chilling influences of New England Society.

——PRIVATE CHARACTER OF A LOCOMOTIVE—THE POETRY OF STEAM.—People who may see a locomotive tearing up and down the land at a gait of forty miles to the hour—making the earth groan beneath its giant tread, and the heavens themselves reverberate with its fearful clatter—scaring nature with its unearthly din, and frightening all creation from its propriety, almost—people who only see it in its activity, have no idea what eminently social virtues it is endowed with. This is its public character. Its private one is another affair. Now and then one of these huge monsters, in whose iron bowels slumbers more than a thousand giant power, comes up and stands under our window, and smokes away as gently as the most exemplary cooking-stove, its huge steam pipes singing a strain as soft and and as dulcet as the most amiable tea-kettle, and its lungs of steel breathing as sweetly as an infant in its slumbers. But the demon of power is there. Let any one but pinch its ears, and no venerable spinster cat will spit more fiercely—let him grip those iron bands, and the pipes which were tuned to so soft a strain, send forth a yell as if heaven and earth were coming together, and those lungs which first breathed so quietly, cough like a volcano—and off it goes darkening the heavens with its dense volume of smoke.—*New Hampshire Telegraph.*

——PARKER PILLSBURY, the notorious Abolitionist and come-outer in Massachusetts, in his ridicule of the Church, lately held a mock meeting on Sabbath, in Salem, and went through the ceremony of taking several dogs into the Church, propounding doctrinal questions to them, and baptizing them, using the words—I baptheo, Bose, I baptize thee, Tiger, &c. We presume his new members will never equal their pastor in depravity.

Mr. Pillsbury is not one of our sort of Anti-Slavery men, nor much in love with *The Tribune*, but we can nevertheless afford to do him the justice to say, that the foregoing paragraph, which is travelling the rounds of the press, if we may believe the testimony of credible witnesses, is essentially and grossly untrue. Mr. P. on the occasion referred to, was endeavouring to present in as striking a light as possible the truth that God has put a difference between men and brutes, and that any institution which disregards this fundamental distinction is a gross insult to the Almighty. Everybody, said Mr. P., will admit the wrong of treating mere animals as responsible beings. How would every right-minded person, for example, be shocked at the administration of religious rites to a company of dogs! To impress this idea upon his hearers with the greater force he supposed the case of a clergyman gravely going through the ceremony of taking dogs into the Church; "I baptize thee. Bose," &c. Taking advantage of the disgust which the very thought of such a scene excited, he asked the audience if they ought not to be even more shocked at seeing men, 'created by God a little lower than angels,' degraded to the condition of mere brutes. Such, we are told, was the line of his argument, such the object of the illustration out of which some unscrupulous person has made an extremely ridiculous and preposterous story. A good cause never requires its supporters to resort to misrepresentation.—*Tribune.*

——CHICAGO ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—The proceedings of this Convention have already been briefly noticed in *The Tribune*. It was almost exclusively composed of members of various Churches, and the questions that came up for discussion had respect to the relations of the Church and of benevolent institutions to American Slavery. About 250 delegates were present, among whom were Rev. N. Colver, of Boston; Wm. Goodell, of New York; President Mahan, of Cleveland; Profs. Finney and Cowles, of Oberlin; Rev. John Rankin, and Rev. E. H. Nevin, of Ohio. Rev. Dr. Blanchard, President of Knox College, presided. The following resolution was adopted immediately after the organization was completed:

Resolved, That this is designed to be a Christian Convention, and should be conducted as a religious convocation, aiming to promote the interests of Christ's kingdom.

The editor of the *Free Presbyterian* was present, and he writes as follows:

The only business of importance in the afternoon was the hearing of speeches from Prof. Finney, of Oberlin, on the Anti-Slavery sentiment of England, in which country he has been preaching for about two years past; and from Mr. Colver, of Boston, who gave a most graphic and amusing account of the rescue of Shadrach. In the evening, Judge Stevens, of Indiana, made an address by invitation of the Convention. His theme was Daniel Webster.

The morning session of the second day opened with reports from the Committee appointed the day previous. The first was an able report, by President Blanchard, on home missions; the second, a most admirable report, by Mr. Boynton of Cincinnati, on the connection of professing Christians with Slavery through Church fellowship and communion; the third, by President Mahan, on the Religious Literature of the Church. The report by Mr. Boynton on Church Fellowship and Communion, takes the broad ground of no Fellowship with Slaveholders, and sustains it by a course of powerful argument. It will be published, of course, along with the proceedings of the Convention.

The reports on Domestic and Foreign Missions assert the duty of the Church to propagate an Anti-Slavery Gospel, and charge the leading Boards of the Church in this country with sustaining and propagating a religion of the opposite character.

There was a report presented on the subject of the Fugitive Bill, which I did not hear. A Committee was appointed to report on the political duties of Christians, of which Mr. Lovejoy, of Indiana, was Chairman; but no report was presented in consequence of the Chairman leaving the city before the Convention found time to receive it. The adoption of the above mentioned reports was the most important business transacted by the Convention.

Rev. E. H. Nevin, in a letter to the *Cleveland True Democrat*, says:

It is expected that another Convention will be held during the coming year, and, in the meantime, thousands of our reports will be circulated all over the country; and papers established, and lecturers sent abroad, and the work of Church Reform will be entered upon with more earnestness than ever. We are not afraid of being too enthusiastic in the cause. He who has felt most, has not yet felt enough. We who profess Christianity forget that we are now living in the very world for which Christ bled in agony. Those very scenes and sufferings which hardly raise an emotion in us, are the very scenes which moved the heart of God. So that were every Christian to *tremble* with emotion—were the members of every Church to meet together on the subject, to start from their supineness as one man, and to utter a loud cry of lamentation, it would be only what sympathy with Christ, and the suffering poor around us loudly demand.

——SLAVE-CATCHING IN SOUTHERN OHIO.—New Athens, O., Tuesday, July 8—Circumstances have lately come to my knowledge calculated to show by what spirit some of the Christian bodies in our land are actuated. And as the fact may not be uninteresting to your readers, I shall attempt to give it them. Not long since I chanced to be in Adams County, in this State—a part no way proverbial for Anti-Slavery sentiment—while there, the following occurrences took place:

Some eighteen slaves of Lewis County, Ky., in whose souls the burning desire for liberty had become so strong as to be irresistible, under the cover of night succeeded in crossing the river into Adams County. They travelled on a road leading north, till daylight, when it become necessary to seek a place of concealment. Having left the road, they sought a hiding-place in the woods. At length they hit upon an old and decayed sugar house, situated in a thick sugar-tree grove. Here they all entered, hoping to lie concealed till night, when they might venture to travel with more security. Here was the husband and the wife, the parent and the child. The father, who had felt the damnation of the slaveholder's sway, no doubt already pictures to himself a quiet and peaceful home in another land, where he may spend the remainder of his days in peace, and around which his children may sport in happiness and freedom. The mother, too, doubtless looks forward to the completion of her long journey, when beyond the reach of the tyrant master, she may possess a home of peace and quiet and joy.

But, alas! how were their hopes blasted. They were discovered by four men, citizens of Adams county, who, under the garb of friends, succeeded in decoying them to a house, where they were kept in close confinement during thirty-six hours, after which time they were securely bound, and under cover of the night, were transported out of the State.

Now the whole proceeding was without even the shadow of law. There was neither warrant, "power of attorney," nor process; not even the tender mercies of the Fugitive Law were extended to them. The whole was accomplished by treachery and brutal force. By the laws of this State it was kidnapping, and the offenders are liable to be punished by three years confinement in the State prison. It was also a violation of the "higher law" the law of God, as laid down in Deut. 23. 15: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his

THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS QUESTION IN ENGLAND.

THE July No. of the *Westminster Review*,* taking for its text the Woman's Rights Convention held last Fall at Worcester, devotes a long paper to the careful discussion of the political and social relations of Woman, and in so able a manner and candid a spirit that we could not hold ourselves excused did we not lay it before our readers, many of whom, we know, are warmly interested and zealously active in this cause. We rarely fill our fourth page with a single article, but this does not admit of abridgment.

Most of our readers will probably learn from these pages for the first time, that there has arisen in the United States, and in the most civilized and enlightened portion of them, an organized agitation on a new question—new, not to thinkers, nor to any one by whom the principles of free and popular government are felt as well as acknowledged; but new, and even unheard of, as a subject for public meetings and practical political action. This question is, the Enfranchisement of Women; their admission, in law and in fact, to equality in all rights, political, civil and social, with the male citizens of the community.

It will add to the surprise with which many will receive this intelligence, that the agitation which has commenced is not a pleading by male writers and orators *for* women, those who are professedly to be benefitted remaining either indifferent or ostensibly hostile: it is a political movement, practical in its objects, carried on in a form which denotes an intention to persevere. And it is a movement not merely *for* women, but *by* them. Its first public manifestation appears to have been a Convention of Women held in the State of Ohio in the Spring of 1850. Of this meeting we have seen no report. On the 23d and 24th of October last, a succession of public meetings was held at Worcester, in Massachusetts, under the name of a "Women's Rights Convention," of which the President was a woman, and nearly all the chief speakers women; numerously re-enforced, however, by men, among whom were some of the most distinguished leaders in the kindred cause of negro emancipation. A general and four special committees were nominated, for the purpose of carrying on the undertaking until the next annual meeting.

According to the report in *The New York Tribune*, above a thousand persons were present throughout, and "if a larger place could have been had, many thousand more would have attended." The place was described as "crowded from the beginning with attentive and interested listeners." In regard to the quality of the speaking, the proceedings bear an advantageous comparison with those of any popular movement with which we are acquainted, either in this country or in America. Very rarely in the oratory of public meetings is the part of verbiage and declamation so small, that of calm good sense and reason so considerable. The result of the Convention was in every respect encouraging to those by whom it was summoned; and it is probably destined to inaugurate one of the most important of the movements toward political and social reform, which are the best characteristic of the present age.

That the promoters of this new agitation take their stand on principles, and do not fear to declare these in their widest extent, without time-serving or compromise, will be seen from the resolutions adopted by the Convention, part of which we transcribe:

Resolved, That every human being, of full age, and resident for a proper length of time on the soil of the nation, who is required to obey the law, is entitled to a voice in its enactment; that every such person, whose property or labour is taxed for the support of the Government, is entitled to a direct share in such Government: therefore,

Resolved, That women are entitled to the right of suffrage, and to be considered eligible to office * * and that every party which claims to represent the humanity, the civilisation, and the progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banners, equality before the law, without distinction of sex or color.

Resolved, That civil and political rights acknowledge no sex, and therefore the word "male" should be struck from every State Constitution.

Resolved, That since the prospect of honourable and useful employment in after life is the best stimulus to the use of educational advantages, and since the best education is that we give ourselves, in the struggles, employments, and discipline of life; therefore it is impossible that women should make full use of the instruction already accorded to them, or that their career should do justice to their faculties, until the avenues to the various civil and professional employments are thrown open to them.

Resolved, That every effort to educate women, without according to them their rights, and arousing their conscience by the weight of their responsibilities, is futile, and a waste of labour.

Resolved, That the laws of property, as affecting married persons, demand a thorough revisal, so that all rights be equal between them; that the wife have, during life, an equal control over the property gained by their mutual toil and sacrifices, and be heir to her husband precisely to that extent that he is heir to her, and entitled at her death to dispose by will of the same share of the property as he is.

The following is a brief summary of the principal demands:

1. *Education* in primary and high schools, universities, medical, legal, and theological institutions.

2. *Partnership* in the labours and gains, risks and remunerations, of productive industry.

3. *An equal share* in the formation and administration of laws—municipal, state and national—through legislative assemblies, courts and executive offices.

It would be difficult to put so much true, just and reasonable meaning into a style so little calculated to recommend it as that of some of the resolutions. But whatever objection may be made to some of the expressions, none, in our opinion, can be made to the demands themselves. As a question of justice, the case seems to us too clear for dispute. As one of expediency, the more thoroughly it is examined the stronger it will appear.

That women have as good a claim as men have, in point of personal right, to the suffrage, or to a place in the jury-box, it would be difficult for any one to deny. It can not certainly be denied by the United States of America, as a people or as a community. Their democratic institutions rest avowedly on the inherent right of every one to a voice in the government. Their Declaration of Independence, framed by the men who are still their great constitutional authorities — that document which has been from the first, and is now, the acknowledged basis of their polity, commences with this express statement:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

We do not imagine that any American democrat will evade the force of these expressions by the dishonest or ignorant subterfuge, that "men," in this memorable document, does not stand for human beings, but for one sex only; that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," are "inalienable rights" of only one moiety of the human species; and that "the governed," whose consent is affirmed to be the only source of just power, are meant for that half of mankind only, who, in relation to the other, have hitherto assumed the character of *Governors*. The contradiction between principle and practice cannot be explained away. A like dereliction of the fundamental maxims of their political creed has been committed by the Americans in the flagrant instance of the negroes; of this they are learning to recognise the turpitude. After a struggle which, by many of its incidents, deserves the name of heroic, the Abolitionists are now so strong in numbers and influence that they hold the balance of parties in the United States. It was fitting that the men whose names will remain associated with the extirpation, from the democratic soil of America, of the aristocracy of colour, should be among the originators, for America and for the rest of the world, of the first collective protest against the aristocracy of sex; a distinction as accidental as that of colour, and fully as irrelevant to all questions of government.

Not only to the democracy of America, the claim of women to civil and political equality makes an irresistible appeal, but also to those radicals and chartists in the British islands, and Democrats on the Continent, who claim what is called universal suffrage as an inherent right, unjustly and oppressively withheld from them. For with what truth or rationality could the suffrage be termed universal, while half the human species remain excluded from it? To declare that a voice in the government is the right of all, and demand it only for a part—the part, namely, to which the claimant himself belongs—is to renounce even the appearance of principle. The Chartist who denies the suffrage to women, is a Chartist only because he is not a lord; he is one of those levelers who would level only down to themselves.

Even those who do not look upon a voice in the government as a matter of personal right, nor profess principles which require that it should be extended to all have usually traditional maxims of political justice with which it is impossible to reconcile the exclusion of all women from the common rights of citizenship. It is an axiom of English freedom that taxation and representation should be coextensive. Even under the laws which gives the wife's property to the husband there are many unmarried women who pay taxes. It is one of the fundamental doctrines of the British constitution, that all persons should be tried by their peers; yet women whenever tried, are tried by male judges and a male jury. To foreigners the law accords the privilege of claiming that half the jury should be composed of themselves; not so to women. Apart from maxims of detail, which represent local and national rather than universal ideas, it is an acknowledged dictate of justice to make no degrading distinctions without necessity. In all things the presumption ought to be on the side of equality. A reason must be given why anything should be permitted to one person and interdicted to another. But when that which is interdicted includes nearly everything which those to whom it is permitted most prize, and to be deprived of which they feel to be most insulting; when not only political liberty but personal freedom of action is the prerogative of a caste: when even in the exercise of industry, almost all employments which task higher faculties in an important field, which lead to distinction, riches, or even pecuniary independence, are fenced round as the exclusive domain of the predominant section, scarcely any doors being left open to the dependent class, except such as all who can enter elsewhere disdainfully pass by; the miserable expediences which are advanced as excuses for so grossly partial a dispensation, would not be sufficient, even if they were real, to render it other than a flagrant injustice. While, far from being expedient, we are firmly convinced that the division of mankind into two castes, one born to rule over the other, is in this case, as in all cases, an unqualified mischief; a source of perversion and demoralization, both to the favoured class and to those at whose expense they are favoured; producing none of the good which it is the custom to ascribe to it, and forming a bar, almost insuperable while it lasts, to any really vital improvement, either in the character or in the social condition of the human race.

These propositions it is now our purpose to maintain. But before entering on them, we would endeavour to dispel the preliminary objections which, in the minds of persons to whom the subject is new, are apt to prevent a real and conscientious examination of it. The chief of these obstacles is that most formidable one, custom. Women never had any equal rights with men. Their claim in their behalf, of the common rights of mankind, is looked upon as barred by universal practice. This strongest of prejudices, the prejudice against what is new and unknown, has, indeed, in an age of changes like the present, lost much of its force; if it had not, there would be little hope of prevailing against it. Over three-fourths of the habitable world, even at this day, the answer, "it has always been so," closes all discussion. But it is the boast of modern Europeans, and of their American kindred, that they know and do many things which their forefathers neither knew nor did; and it is perhaps the most unquestionable point of superiority in the present above former ages, that habit is not now the tyrant it formerly was over opinions and modes of action, and that the worship of custom is a declining idolatry. An uncustomary thought, on a subject which touches the greater interests of life, still startles when first presented; but if it can be kept before the mind until the impression of strangeness wears off, it obtains a hearing, and as rational a consideration as the intellect of the hearer is accustomed to bestow on any other subject.

In the present case, the prejudice of custom is doubtless on the unjust side. Great thinkers, indeed, at different times, from Plato to Condorcet, besides some of the most eminent names of the present age, have made emphatic protests in favour of the equality of women. And there have been voluntary societies, religious or secular, of which the Society of Friends is the most known, by whom that principle was recognized. But there has been no political community or nation in which, by law, and usage, women have not been in a state of political and civil inferiority. In the ancient world the same fact was alleged, with equal truth, in behalf of Slavery. It might have been alleged in favour of the mitigated form of Slavery, serfdom, all through the middle ages. It was urged against freedom of industry, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press; none of these liberties were thought compatible with a well-ordered State, until they had proved their possibility by actually existing as facts. That an institution or a practice is customary is no presumption of its goodness, when any other sufficient cause can be assigned for its existence. There is no difficulty in understanding why the subjection of women has been a custom. No other explanation is needed than physical force.

That those who were physically weaker should have been made legally inferior, is quite conformable to the mode in which the world has been governed. Until very lately, the rule of physical strength was the general law of human affairs. Throughout history, the nations, races, classes, which found themselves the strongest, either in muscles, in riches, or in military discipline, have conquered and held in subjection the rest. If, even in the most improved nations, the law of the sword is at last discountenanced as unworthy, it is only since the calumniated eighteenth century. Wars of conquest have only ceased since democratic revolutions began. The world is very young, and has but just begun to cast off injustice. It is only now getting rid of negro Slavery. It is only now getting rid of monarchical despotism. It is only now getting rid of hereditary feudal nobility. It is only now getting rid of disabilities on the ground of religion. It is only beginning to treat any *men* as citizens, except the rich and a favoured portion of the middle class. Can we wonder that it has not yet done as much for women? As society was constituted until the last few generations, inequality was its very basis; association grounded on equal rights scarcely existed; to be equals was to be enemies; two persons could hardly co-operate in anything, or meet in any amicable relation, without the law's appointing that one of them should be superior to the other. Mankind have outgrown this state, and all things now tend to substitute, as the general principle of human relations, a just equality, instead of the dominion of the strongest. But of all relations, that between men and women being the nearest and most intimate, and connected with the greatest number of strong emotions, was sure to be the last to throw off the old rule and receive the new; for in proportion to the strength of a feeling, is the tenacity with which it clings to the forms and circumstances with which it has even accidentally become associated.

When a prejudice, which has any hold on the feelings, finds itself reduced to the unpleasant necessity of assigning reasons, it thinks it has done enough when it has reasserted the very point in dispute, in phrases which appeal to the preëxisting feeling. Thus many persons think they have sufficiently justified the restrictions on women's field of action, when they have said that the pursuits from which women are excluded are *unfeminine*, and that the *proper sphere* of women is not politics or publicity, but private and domestic life.

We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion, or any individual for another individual, what is and what is not their "proper sphere." The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to. What this is cannot be ascertained without complete liberty of choice. The speakers at the Convention in America have therefore done wisely and right in refusing to entertain the question of the peculiar aptitudes either of women or of men, or the limits within which either this or that occupation may be supposed to be more adapted to the one or to the other. They justly maintain, that these questions can only be satisfactorily answered by perfect freedom. Let every occupation be open to all, without favour or discouragement to any, and employments will fall into the hands of those men or women who are found by experience to be most capable of worthily exercising them. There need be no fear that women will take out of the hands of men any occupation which men perform better than they. Each individual will prove his or her capacities in the only way in which capacities can be proved—by trial; and the world will have the benefit of the best faculties of all its inhabitants. But to interfere beforehand by an arbitrary limit, and declare that whatever be the genius, talent, energy, or force of mind of an individual of a certain sex or class, those faculties shall not be exerted, or shall be exerted only in some few of the many modes in which others are permitted to use theirs, is not only an injustice to the individual, and a detriment to society, which loses what it can ill spare, but is also the most effectual mode of providing that, in the sex or class so fettered, the qualities which are not permitted to be exercised shall not exist.

We shall follow the very proper example of the Convention, in not entering into the question of the alleged differences in physical or mental qualities between the sexes; not because we have nothing to say, but because we have too much; to discuss this one point tolerably would need all the space we have to bestow on the entire subject.* But if those who assert that the "proper sphere" for women is the domestic, mean by this that they have not shown themselves qualified for any other, the assertion evinces great ignorance of life and of history. Women have shown fitness for the highest social functions, exactly in proportion as they have been admitted to them.—By a curious anomaly, though ineligible to even the lowest offices of State, they are in some countries admitted to the highest of all, the regal; and if there is any one function for which they have shown a decided vocation, it is that of reigning. Not to go back to ancient history, we look in vain for abler or firmer rulers than Elizabeth; than Isabella of Castile; than Maria Teresa; than Catherine of Russia than Blanche, mother of Louis IX. of France; than Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henri Quatre. There are few kings on record who contended with more difficult circumstances, or overcame them more triumphantly, than these. Even in semi-barbarous Asia, princesses who have never been seen by men, other than those of their own family, or even spoken with them unless from behind a curtain, have as regents, during the minority of their sins, exhibited many of the most brilliant examples of just and vigorous administration. But the middle ages, when the distance between the upper and lower ranks was greater than even between women and men, and the women of the privileged class, however subject to tyranny from the men of the same class, were at a less distance below them than any one else was, and often in their absence represented them in their functions and authority—numbers of heroic chatelaines, like Jeanne de Montfort, or the grand Countess of Derby as late even as the time of Charles I., distinguished themselves not only by their political but their military capacity. In the centuries immediately before and after the Reformation, ladies of royal houses, as diplomatists, as Governors of Provinces, or as the confidential advisers of kings, equalled the first statesmen of their time; and the treaty of Cambray, which gave peace to Europe, was negotiated in conferences where no other person was present, by the aunt of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and the mother of Francis the First.

Concerning the fitness, then, of women for politics, there can be no question: but this dispute is more likely to turn upon the fitness of politics for whom When the reasons alleged for excluding women from active life in all its higher departments, are stripped of their garb of declamatory phrases, and reduced to the simple expression of a meaning, they seem to be mainly three: the incompatibility of active life with maternity, and with the cares of a household: secondly, its alleged hardening efforts on the character; and thirdly, the inexpediency of making an addition to the already excessive pressure of competition in every kind of professional or lucrative employment.

The first, the maternity argument, is usually laid most stress upon; although (it needs hardly be said) this reason, if it be one, can apply only to mothers. It is neither necessary nor just to make imperative on women that they shall be either mothers or nothing; or that if they have been mothers once, they shall be nothing else during the whole remainder of their lives. Neither women nor men need any law to exclude them from an occupation, if they have undertaken another which is incompatible with it.—No one proposes to exclude the male sex from Parliament because a man may be a soldier or sailor in active service, or a merchant whose business requires all his time and energies. Nine-tenths of the occupations of men exclude them *de facto* from public life as effectually as if they were excluded by law; but that is no reason for making laws to exclude even the nine-tenths, much less the remaining tenth.—The reason of the case is the same for women as for men. There is no need to make provisions by law that a women shall not carry on the active details of a household, or of the education of children, and at the same time practice a profession or be elected to Parliament. Where incompatibility is real it will take care of itself: but there is gross injustice in making the incompatibility a pretense for the exclusion of those in whose case it does not exist. And these, if they were free to choose, would be a very large proportion. The maternity argument deserts its supporters in the case of single women, a large and increasing class of the population; a fact which it is not irrelevent to remark, by tending to diminish the excessive competition of numbers, is calculated to assist greatly the prosperity of all. There is no inherent reason or necessity that all women should voluntarily choose to devote their lives to one animal function and its consequences. Numbers of women are wives and mothers only because there is no other career open to them, no other occupation for their feelings or their activities. Every improvement in their education, and enlargement of their faculties—everything which renders them more qualified for any other mode of life, increases the number of those to whom it is an injury and an oppression to be denied the choice. To say that women must be excluded from active life because maternity disqualifies them for it, is in fact to say, that every other career should be forbidden them in order that maternity may be their only resource.

But secondly, it is urged, that to give the same freedom of occupation to women as to men, would be an injurious addition to the crowd of competitors, by whom the avenues to almost all kinds of employment are choked up, and its remuneration depressed. This argument, it is to be observed, does not reach the political question. It gives no excuse for withholding from women the rights of citizenship. The suffrage, the Jury-box, admission to the Legislature and to office, it does not touch. It bears only on the industrial branch of the subject. Allowing it, then, in an economical point of view, its full force; assuming that to lay open to women the employments now monopolized by men, would tend like the breaking down of other monopolies, to lower the rate of remuneration in those employments; let us consider what is the amount of this evil consequence, and what the compensation for it. The worst ever asserted, much worse than is at all likely to be realised is that if women competed with men, a man and a woman could not together earn more than is now earned by the man alone. Let us make this supposition, the most unfavourable supposition possible the joint income of the two would be the same as before while the women would be raised from the position of a servant to that of a partner. Even if every woman, as matters now stand, had a claim on some man for support, how infinitely preferable is it that part of the income should be of the woman's earning, even if the aggregate sum were but little increased by it, rather than that she should be compelled to stand aside in order that men may be the sole earners, and the sole dispensers of what is earned. Even under the present laws respecting the property of women,† a women who contributes materially to the support of the family, cannot be treated in the same contemptuously tyrannical manner as one who, however she may toil as a domestic drudge, is a dependent on the man for subsistence. As for the depression of wages by increase of competition, remedies will be found for it in time. Palliatives might be applied immediately; for instance a more rigid exclusion of children from industrial employment, during the years in which they ought to be working only to strengthen their bodies and minds for after life. Children are necessarily dependent, and under the power of others; and their labour, being not for themselves but for the gain of their parents, is a proper subject for legislative regulation. With respect to the future, we neither believe that improvident multiplication, and the consequent excessive difficulty of gaining a subsistence, will always continue, nor that the division of mankind into capitalists or hired labourers, and the regulation of the reward of labourers mainly by demand and supply, will be, forever, or even much longer, the rule of the world. But so long as competition is the general law of human life, it is tyranny to shut out one half of the competitors. All who have attained the age of self-government, have an equal claim to be permitted to sell whatever kind of useful labour they are capable of, for the price which it will bring.

The third objection to the admission of women to political or professional life, is its alleged hardening tendency, belongs to an age now past, and is scarcely to be comprehended by people of the present time There are still, however, persons who say that the world and its avocations render men selfish and unfeeling; that the struggles, rivalries and collisions of business and of politics make them harsh and unamiable; that if half the species must unavoidably be given up to these things, it is the more necessary that the other half should be kept free from them; that to preserve women from the bad influences of the world, is the only chance of preventing men from being wholly given up to them.

There would have been plausibility in this argument when the world was still in the age of violence; when life was full of physical conflict, and every man had to redress his injuries or those of others, by the sword or by the strength of his arm. Women, like priests, by being exempted from such responsibilities, and from some part of the accompanying dangers, may have been enabled to exercise a beneficial influence. But in the present condition of human life, we do not know where those hardening influences are to be found, to which men are subject and from which women are at present exempt. Individuals now-a-days are seldom called upon to fight hand to hand, even with peaceful weapons; personal enmities and rivalries count for little in wordly transactions; the general pressure of circumstances, not the adverse will of individuals, is the obstacle men now have to make head against. That pressure, when excessive, breaks the spirit, and cramps and sours the feelings, but not less of women than of men, since they suffer certainly not less from its evils. There are still quarrels and dislikes, but the sources of them are changed. The feudal chief once found his bitterest enemy in his powerful neighbour, the minister or courtier in his rival for place; but opposition of interest in active life, as a cause of personal animosity, is out of date; the enmities of the present day arise not from great things but small, from what people say of one another, more than from what they do; and if there are hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, they are to be found among women fully as much as among men. In the present state of civilization, the notion of guarding women from the hardening influences of the world, could only be realized by secluding them from society altogether. The common duties of common life, as at present constituted, are incompatible with any other softness in women than weakness. Surely weak minds in weak bodies must ere long cease to be even supposed to be either attractive or amiable.

But, in truth, none of these arguments and considerations touch the foundation of the subject. The real question is, whether it is right and expedient that one-half of the human race should pass through life in a state of forced subordination to the other half. If the best state of human society is that of being divided into two parts, one consisting of persons with a will and a substantive existence, the other of humble companions to those persons, attached, each of them to one, for the purpose of bringing up *his* children and making *his* home pleasant to him: if this is the place assigned to women, it is but kindness to educate them for this: to make them believe that the greatest good fortune which can befal them, is to be chosen by some man for this purpose: and that every career which the world deems happy or honourable, is closed to them by the law, not of social institutions, but of nature and destiny.

When, however, we ask why the existence of one-half the species should be merely ancillary to that of the other—why each woman should be a mere appendage to a man, allowed to have no interests of her own, that there may be nothing to compete in her mind with his interests and his pleasure; the only reason which can be given is, that men like it. It is agreeable to them that men should live for their own sake, women for the sake of men; and the qualities and conduct in subjects which are agreeable to rulers, they succeed for a long time in making the subjects themselves consider as their appropriate virtues. Helvetius has met with much obloquy for asserting that persons usually mean by virtues the qualities which are useful or convenient to themselves How truly this is said of mankind in general, and how wonderfully the ideas of virtue set afloat by the powerful, are caught and imbibed by those under their dominion, is exemplified by the manner in which the world were once persuaded that the supreme virtue of subjects was loyalty to kings, and are still persuaded that the parmount virtue of womanhood is loyalty to men. Under a nominal recognition of a moral code common to both, in practice, self-will and self-assertion from the type of what are designated as manly virtues, while abnegation of self, patience, resignation, and submission to power, unless when resistance is commanded by other interests than their own, have been stamped general by consent as preëminently the duties and graces required of women. The meaning being merely, that power makes itself the centre of moral obligation, and that a man likes to to have his own will, but does not like that his domestic companion should have a will different from his.

We are far from pretending that in modern and civilized times, no reciprocity of obligation is acknowledged on the part of the stronger. Such an assertion would be very wide of the truth. But even this reciprocity, which has disarmed tyranny, at least in the higher and middle classes, of its most revolting features, yet when combined with the original evil of the dependent condition of women, has introduced in its turn serious evils.

In the beginning, and among tribes which are still in a primitive condition, women were and are the slaves of men for purposes of toil. All the hard bodily labour devolves on them. The Australian savage is idle, while women painfully dig up the roots on which he lives. An American Indian, when he kills a deer, leaves it, and sends a woman to carry it home. In a state somewhat more advanced, as in Asia, women were and are the slaves of men for the purposes of sensuality. In Europe there early succeeded a third and milder dominion, secured not by blows, nor by locks and bars, but by sedulous incubation on the mind; feelings also of kindness, and ideas of duty, such as a superior owes to inferiors under his protection, became more and more involved in the relation. But it did not for many ages become a relation of companionship, even between unequals; the lives of the two persons were apart. The wife was part of the furniture of home, of the resting-place to which the man returned from business or pleasure. His occupations were, as they still are, among men; his pleasures and excitements also were, for the most part, among men—among his equals. He was a patriarch and a despot within four walls, and irresponsible power had its effect, greater or less according to his disposition, in rendering him domineering, exacting, self-worshipping, when not capriciously or brutally tyrannical. But if the moral part of his nature suffered, it was not necessarily so, in the same degree, with the intellectual or the active portion. He might have as much vigour of mind and energy of character as his nature enabled him, and as the circumstances of his times allowed. He might write the "Paradise Lost," or win the battle of Marengo This was the condition of the Greeks and Romans, and of the moderns until a recent date. Their relations with their domestic subordinates occupied a mere corner, though a cherished one, of their lives. Their education as men, the formation of their faculties, depended mainly on a different class of influences.

It is otherwise now. The progress of improvement has imposed on all possessors of power, and of domestic power among the rest, an increased and increasing sense of correlative obligation. No man now thinks that his wife has no claim upon his actions but such as he may accord to her. All men of any conscience believe that their duty to their wives is one of the most binding of their obligations. Nor is it supposed to consist solely in protection, which, in the present state of civilization, women have almost ceased to need: it involves care for their happiness and consideration for their wishes, with a not unfrequent sacrifice of their own to them. The power of husbands has reached the stage which the power of kings had arrived at, when opinion did not yet question the rightfulness of arbitrary power, but in theory, and to a certain extent in practice, condemned the selfish use of it. This improvement in the moral sentiments of mankind, and increased sense of the consideration due by every man to those who have no one but himself to look to, has tended to make home more and more the centre of interest, and domestic circumstances and society a larger and larger part of life, and of its pursuits and pleasures. The tendency has been strengthened by the changes of tastes and manners which have so remarkably distinguished the last two or three generations. In days not far distant, men found their excitement and filled up their time in violent bodily exercises, noisy merriment, and intemperance. They have now, in all but the very poorest classes, lost their inclination for these things, and for the coarser pleasures generally; they have now scarcely any tastes but those which they have in common with women, and, for the first time in the world, men and women are really companions. A most beneficial change, if the companionship were between equals; but being between unequals, it produces, what good observers have noticed, though without perceiving its cause, a progressive deterioration among men in what had hitherto been considered the masculine excellences. Those who are so careful that women should not become men, do not see that men are becoming, what they have decided that women should not be—are falling into the feebleness which they have so long cultivated in their companions. Those who are associated in their lives, tend to become assimilated in character. In the present closeness of association between the sexes, men cannot attain manliness unless women acquire it.

There is hardly any situation more unfavourable to the maintenance of elevation of character or force of intellect, than to live in the society, and seek by preference the sympathy, of inferiors in mental endowments. Why is it that we constantly see in life so much intellectual and moral promise followed by such inadequate performance, but because the aspirant has compared himself only with those below himself, and has not sought improvement or stimulus from measuring himself with his equals or superiors. In the present state of social life, this is becoming the general condition of men. They care less and less for any sympathies, and are less and less under any personal influences, but those of the domestic roof. Not to be misunderstood, it is necessary that we should distinctly disclaim the belief, that women are even now inferior in intellect to men. There are women who are the equals in intellect of any men who ever lived; and comparing ordinary women with ordinary men, the varied though petty details which compose the occupation of most women call forth probably as much of mental ability as the uniform routine of the pursuits which are the habitual occupation of a large majority of men. It is from nothing in the faculties themselves, but from the petty subjects and interests on which alone they are exercised, that the companionship of women, such as their present circumstances make them, so often exercises a dissolvent influence on high faculties and aspirations in men. If one of the two has no knowledge and no care about the great ideas and purposes which dignify life, or about any of its practical concerns save personal interests and personal vanities, her conscious, and still more her unconscious influence, will, except in rare cases, reduce to a secondary place in his mind, if not entirely extinguish, those interests which she cannot or does not share.

Our argument here brings us into collision with what may be termed the moderate reformers of the education of women; a sort of persons who cross the path of improvement on all great questions; those who would maintain the old bad principles, mitigating their consequences. These say that women should not be slaves, nor servants, but companions, and educated for that office: (they do not say that men should be educated to be the companions of women.) But since uncultivated women are not suitable companions for cultivated men, and a man who feels interest in things above and beyond the family circle wishes that his companion should sympathize with him in that interest, they therefore say, let women improve their understanding and taste, acquire general knowledge, cultivate poetry, art, even coquet with science, and some stretch their liberality so far as to say, inform themselves on politics; not as pursuits, but sufficiently to feel an interest in the subject, and to be capable of holding a conversation on them with the husband, or at least of understanding and imbibing his wisdom. Very agreeable to him, no doubt, but unfortunately the reverse of improving. It is from having intellectual communion only with those to whom they can lay down the law, that so few men continue to advance in wisdom beyond the first stages. The most eminent men cease to improve if they associate only with disciples. When they have overtopped those who immediately surround them, if they wish for further growth, they must seek for others of their own stature to consort with. The mental companionship which is improving, is communion between active minds, not mere contact between an active mind and a passive. This inestimable advantage is even now enjoyed, when a strong-minded man and a strong-minded woman, are, by a rare chance, united; and would be had far oftener, if education took the same pains to form strong-minded women which it takes to prevent them from being formed. The modern, and what are regarded as the improved and enlightened modes of education of women, abjure, as far as words go, an education of mere show, and profess to aim at solid instruction, and mean by that expression superficial information and solid subjects. Except accomplishments, which are now generally regarded as to be taught well if taught at all, nothing is taught to women thoroughly. Small portions only of what it is attempted to teach thoroughly to boys, are the whole of what it is intended or desired to teach to women. What makes intelligent beings is the power of thought; the stimuli which call forth that power are the interest and dignity of thought itself, and a field for its practical application. Both motives are cut off from those who are told from infancy that thought, and all its greater applications, are other people's business, while theirs is to make themselves agreeable to other people. High mental powers in women will be but an exceptional accident, until every career is open to them, and until they, as well as men, are educated for themselves and for the world—not one sex for the other.

In what we have said on the effect of the inferior position of women, combined with the present constitution of married life, we have thus far had in view only the most favourable cases, those in which there is some real approach to that union and blending of characters and of lives, which the theory of the relation contemplates as its ideal standard. But if we look to the great majority of cases, the effect of women's legal inferiority on the character both of women and of men must be painted in far darker colours. We do not speak here of the grosser brutalities, nor of the man's power to seize on the woman's earnings, or compel her to live with him against her will. We do not address ourselves to any one who requires to have it proved that these things should be remedied. We suppose average cases, in which there is neither complete union nor complete disunion of feelings and of character; and we affirm that in such cases the influence of the dependence ou the woman's side is demoralizing to the character of both.

The common opinion is, that whatever may be the case with the intellectual, the moral influence of women over men is almost always salutary. It is, we are often told, the great counteractive of selfishness. However the case may be as to personal influence, the influence of the position tends eminently to promote selfishness. The most insignificant of men, the man who can obtain influence or consideration nowhere else, finds one place where he is chief and head. There is one person, often greatly his superior in understanding, who is obliged to consult him, and whom he is not obliged to consult. He is judge, magistrate, ruler, over their joint concerns; arbiter of all differences between them. The justice or conscience to which her appeal must be made, is his justice and conscience; it is his to hold the balance and adjust the scales between his own claims and wishes and those of another. He is now the only tribunal, in civilized life, in which the same person is judge and party. A generous mind, in such a situation, makes the balance incline against its own side, and gives the other not less, but more, than a fair equality; and thus the weaker side may be made to turn the very fact of dependence into an instrument of power, and in default of justice, take an ungenerous advantage of generosity; rendering the unjust power, to those who make an unselfish use of it, a torment and a burden. But how is it when average men are invested with this power, without reciprocity and without responsibility? Give such a man the idea that he is first in law and in opinion—that to will is his part, and hers to submit—it is absurd to suppose that this idea merely glides over his mind, without sinking into it, or having any effect on his feelings and practice. The propensity to make himself the first object of consideration, and others at most the second, is not so rare as to be wanting where everything seems purposely arranged for permitting its indulgence. If there is any self-will in the man, he becomes either the conscious or unconscious despot of his household. The wife, indeed, often succeeds in gaining her objects, but it is by some of the many various forms of indirectness and management.

Thus the position is corrupting equally to both; in the one it produces the vices of power, in the other those of artifice. Women, in their present physical and moral state, having stronger impulses, would naturally be franker and more direct than men; yet all the old saws and traditions represent them as artful and dissembling. Why? Because their only way to their objects is by indirect paths. In all countries where women have strong wishes and active minds, this consequence is inevitable: and if it is less conspicuous in England than in some other places, it is because English women, saving occasional exceptions, have ceased to have either strong wishes or active minds.

We are not now speaking of cases in which there is anything deserving the name of strong affection on both sides. That, where it exists, is too powerful a principle not to modify greatly the bad influences of the situation; it seldom, however, destroys them entirely. Much oftener the bad influences are too strong for the affection, and destroy it. The highest order of durable and happy attachments would be a hundred times more frequent than they are, if the affection which the two sexes sought from one another were that genuine friendship, which only exists between equals in privileges as in faculties. But with regard to what is commonly called affection in married life—the habitual and almost mechanical feeling of kindliness, and pleasure in each other's society, which generally grows up between persons who constantly live together, unless there is actual dislike—there is nothing in this to contradict or qualify the mischievous influence of the unequal relation. Such feelings often exist between a Sultan and his favourites, between a master and his servants; they are merely examples of the pliability of human nature, which accommodates itself in some degree even to the worst circumstances, and the commonest natures always the most easily.

With respect to the influence personally exercised by women over men, it, no doubt, renders them less harsh and brutal; in ruder times, it was often the only softening influence to which they were accessible. But the assertion, that the wife's influence renders the man less selfish, contains, as things now are, fully as much error as truth. Selfishness toward the wife herself, and toward those in whom she is interested, the children, though favoured by their dependence, the wife's influence, no doubt, tends to counteract. But the general effect on him of her character, so long as her interests are concentrated in the family, tends but to substitute for individual selfishness a family selfishness, wearing an amiable guise, and putting on the mask of duty. How rarely is the wife's influence on the side of public virtue: how rarely does it do otherwise than discourage any effort of principle by which the private interests or worldly vanities of the family can be expected to suffer. Public spirit, sense of duty toward the public good, is of all virtues, as women are now educated and situated, the most rarely to be found among them; they have seldom even, what in men is often a partial substitute for public spirit, a sense of personal honour connected with any public duty. Many a man, whom no money or personal flattery would have bought, has bartered his political opinions against a title or invitations for his wife; and a still greater number are made mere hunters after the puerile vanities of society, because their wives value them. As for opinions; in Catholic countries, the wife's influence is another name for that of the priest: he gives her, in the hopes and emotions connected with a future life, a consolation for the sufferings and disappointments which are her ordinary lot in this. Elsewhere, her weight is thrown into the scale either of the most commonplace, or of the most outwardly prosperous opinions: either those by which censure will be escaped, or by which worldly advancement is likeliest to be procured. In England, the wife's influence is usually on the illiberal and anti-popular side: this is generally the gaining side for personal interest and vanity: and what to her is the democracy or liberalism in which she has no part—which leaves her the Pariah it found her? The man himself, when he marries, usually declines into Conservatism; begins to sympathize with the holders of power, more than with its victims, and thinks it his part to be on the side of authority. As to mental progress, except those vulgar attainments by which vanity or ambition are promoted, there is generally an end to it in a man who marries a woman mentally his inferior; unless, indeed, he is unhappy in marriage, or becomes indifferent. From a man of twenty-five or thirty, after he is married, an experienced observer seldom expects any further progress in mind or feelings. It is rare that the progress already made is maintained. Any spark of the *mens divinior* which might otherwise have spread and become a flame, seldom survives for any length of time unextinguished. For a mind which learns to be satisfied with what it already is—which does not incessantly look forward to a degree of improvement not yet reached—becomes relaxed, self-indulgent, and loses the spring and the tension which maintain it even at the point already attained. And there is no fact in human nature to which experience bears more invariable testimony than to this—that all social or sympathetic influences which do not raise up, pull down; if they do not tend to stimulate and exalt the mind, they tend to vulgarise it.

For the interest, therefore, not only of women, but of men, and of human improvement in the widest sense, the emancipation of women, which the modern world often boasts of having effected, and for which credit is sometimes given to civilization, and sometimes to Christianity, cannot stop where it is. If it were either necessary or just that one portion of mankind should remain mentally and spiritually only half developed, the development of the other portion ought to have been made, as far as possible, independent of their influence. Instead of this, they have become the most intimate, and it may now be said, the only intimate associates of those to whom yet they are sedulously kept inferior; and have been raised just high enough to drag the others down to themselves.

We have left behind a host of vulgar objections, either as not worthy of an answer, or as answered by the general course of our remarks. A few words, however, must be said on one plea, which in England is made much use of for giving an unselfish air to the upholding of selfish privileges, and which, with unobserving, unreflecting people, passes for much more than it is worth. Women, it is said, do not desire—do not seek—what is called their emancipation. On the contrary, they generally disown such claims when made in their behalf, and fall with *acharnement* upon any one of themselves who identifies herself with their common cause.

Supposing the fact to be true in the fullest extent ever asserted, if it proves that European women ought to remain as they are, it proves exactly the same with respect to Asiatic women: for they too, instead of murmuring at their seclusion, and at the restraint imposed upon them, pride themselves on it, and are astonished at the effrontery of women who receive visits from male acquaintances, and are seen in the street unveiled. Habits of submission make men as well as women servile-minded. The vast population of Asia do not desire or value, probably would not accept, political liberty, nor the savages of the forest, civilization; which does not prove that either of those things is undesirable for them, or that they will not, at some future time, enjoy it. Custom hardens human beings to any kind of degradation, by deadening the part of their nature which would resist it. And the case of women is, in this respect, even a peculiar one, for no other inferior caste that we have heard of, have been taught to regard their degradation as their honour. The argument, however, implies a secret consciousness that the alleged preference of women for their dependent state is merely apparent, and arises from their being allowed no choice; for if the preference be natural, there can be no necessity for enforcing it by law. To make laws compelling people to follow their inclination, has not hitherto been thought necessary by any legislator. The plea that women do not desire